March 24, 1997 49145 $3.50 U.S., $4.50 Canadian

LONING
EMOCRATS
— p. 22

Guns Don't Kill People — Studies Do. ◆ Daniel D. Polsby

NATIONAL REVIEW

The Manchurian Candidates

Rich Lowry

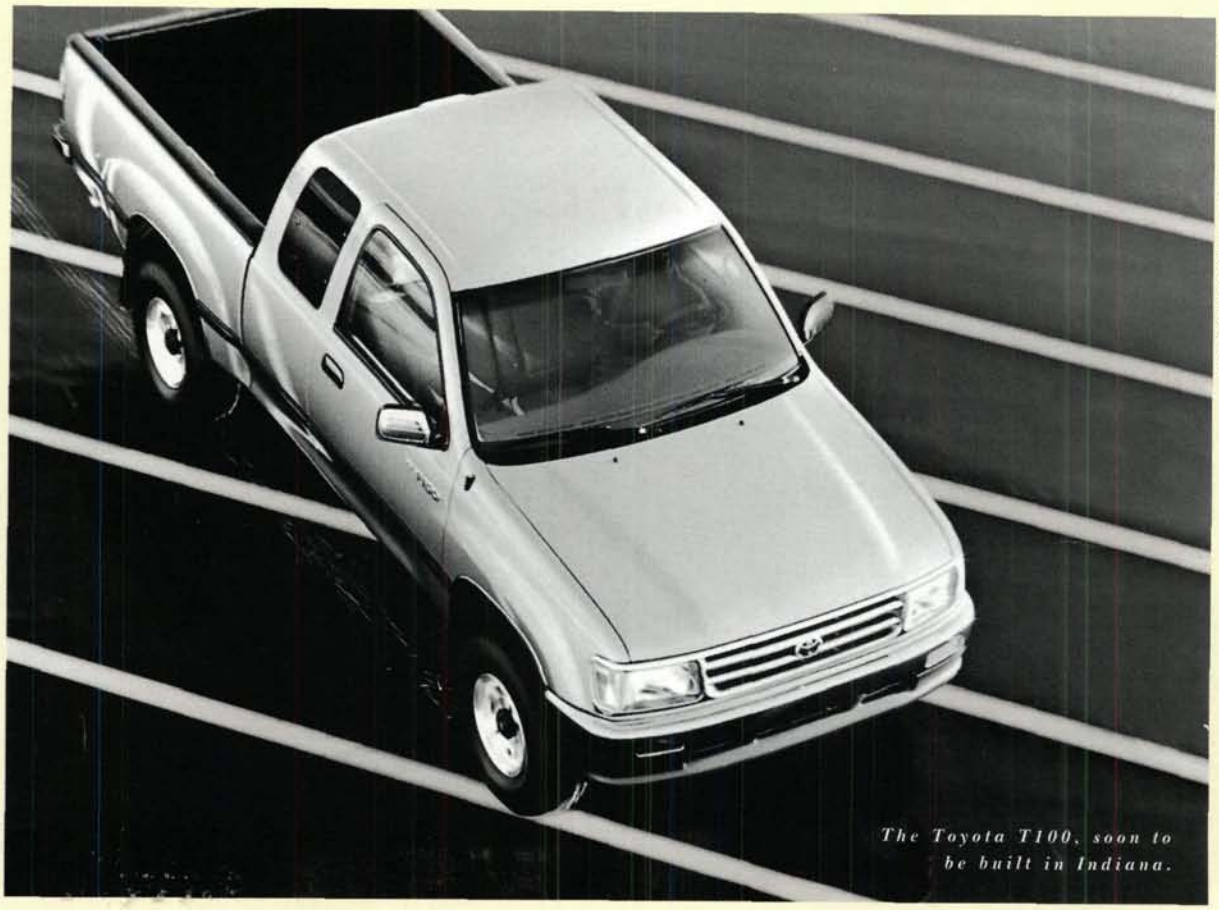
The Illegal Services Corporation: Why Congress Still Fun[illegible] the Left

Rael Jean Is[illegible]

#BXNCMYG ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ'555BY003# 071497
88 NTRV P00145
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jobs, investment, ECONOMIC GROWTH.



The Toyota T100, soon to be built in Indiana.

© 1996 Toyota Motor Corporate Services of North America, Inc.

It's amazing what this TRUCK WILL CARRY.

SINCE 1986, when Toyota first began building vehicles in this country, we've been reinvesting in the community. Today, Toyota builds more than 630,000 vehicles in America every year. In fact, more than half the vehicles we sell in the U.S. are built here. With new plants in Indiana and West Virginia on the way, we're furthering our investment in American manufacturing and jobs. And that's an investment that provides economic opportunities, literally, by the truckload.

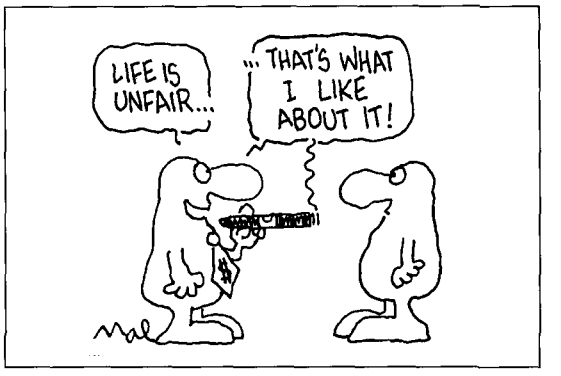
INVESTING IN THE THINGS WE ALL CARE ABOUT. **TOYOTA**

For more information about Toyota in America visit our web site at http://www.toyotausa.com or write Toyota Motor Corporate Services, 9 West 57th Street, Suite 4900-X4, New York, New York 10019

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH 24, 1997 VOL. XLIX, NO. 5



COVER STORY

38 ***China Syndrome***
The Clinton Administration's Pacific overtures have cost a lot of face. But, as **Rich Lowry** explains, the trouble started in Arkansas.

ARTICLES

20 ***Capital Scene***
Campaign finance reform is producing strange bedfellows, says **Eric Felten**. . . . **Thomas McArdle** monitors Al Gore's voter mill. . . . With Republicans in the saddle, the headless House rides again, says **Kate O'Beirne**.

28 ***On the Scene***
Ze'ev Schiff reports that Benjamin Netanyahu's friends have him surrounded. . . . **Ira Mehlman** investigates how the government sponsors registration of illegal aliens in California.

33 ***From the Hip***
Daniel D. Polsby shoots holes in the studies advocating gun control.

40 ***The Last Dragon***
Don't cry for Deng Xiaoping, China. **Ross Terrill** asks whether China is still a Communist threat.

42 ***Illegal Services***
Rael Jean Isaac takes aim at the lawyers who are fighting the taxpayer via loopholes in the law.

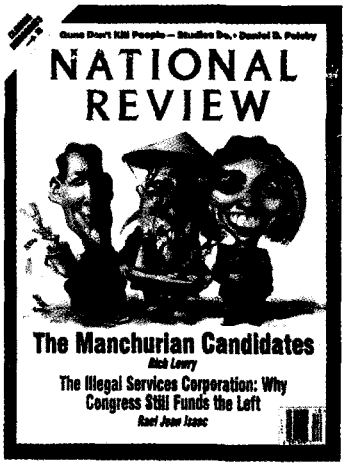
BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

50 In *Radical Son*, David Horowitz compares himself to no less a figure than Whittaker Chambers. "Fair enough," says **James Bowman**. . . . **Maggie Gallagher** applauds Katie Roiphe's *Last Night in Paradise*, a brilliant—if not entirely intentional—epitaph for the sexual revolution. . . . Barbara Dafoe Whitehead's *The Culture of Divorce* decries the divorce rate; **Robert L. Plunkett** is waiting for her to do something about it. . . . Rumors of the Democratic Party's resurrection are greatly exaggerated, reports **Ramesh Ponnuru** after perusing Ronald Radosh's *Divided They Fell*, Michael Tomasky's *Left for Dead*, and Jeff Faux's *The Party's Not Over*. . . . In Christopher Buckley's *Wry Martinis,* **Jonathan Foreman** has made a unique discovery: a funny Republican. . . . **John Simon** slugs it out with *When We Were Kings*, a rather standard documentary about the Ali–Foreman Rumble in the Jungle. . . . **A. Tapen Soper** soars from sea to shining sea.

64 ***Misanthrope's Corner***
Florence King makes the case for electing Fred Thompson President.

SECTIONS

2 ***Letters***
4 ***From the Editor***
5 ***For the Record***
6 ***The Week***
32 ***Gekko***
46 help
48 ***Letter from Al***
58 ***Books in Brief***
61 ***Trans-O-Gram***
62 ***On the Right***


NATIONAL REVIEW
The Manchurian Candidates
Rich Lowry
The Illegal Services Corporation: Why Congress Still Funds the Left
Rael Jean Isaac

Cover illustration by Roman Genn

World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1997. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $57.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Irrational Private Lives

Michael Prowse's overview of the Austrian school of economics ["To Liberty Via America," Feb. 24] was truly fine. But the claim that everyday transactions such as buying a house or choosing a career are "no different in their essentials from the decisions of the business tycoon" is off the mark. I for one chose my house for the view of Lake Cayuga, the view being worth a mere $1,000 of assessed value, according to the printout from the Tompkins County Assessment office. And I entered my career by chance (not choice), remained in it through sloth (in the academic world few die and none resign), and exited gracefully aged (without parachute).

As Ronald Coase pointed out recently in *Reason*, everyday personal decisions don't have to be as rational as decisions made in a firm, because in a firm if you do dumb things they'll fire you (unless, he could have added, the firm is a university).

Richard L. Reed
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y.

First Amendment Hassles

At first I wasn't sure if it was NATIONAL REVIEW I was reading. John Simon's review of *The People vs. Larry Flynt* [Feb. 24] was hard to take serious . . . Did Mr. Simon actually see the movie or did he just read the *L.A. Times* review? Did he not find it just a bit odd that the contents of a regular issue of *Hustler* were never examined in the movie? Has Mr. Simon ever seen an issue of *Hustler*, or have an understanding of what pornography entails? Does he just subscribe to the standard liberal view of the First Amendment, the *Federalist Papers* be damned?

Richard Hodulik
Burbank, Calif.

. . . What you don't see in the movie are typical *Hustler* photos: mutilated women; a trussed, naked body bagged like a deer and perched atop a car; dead and dismembered women; handcuffed women being raped or subjected to bestiality. You also don't see the *Hustler* cartoon "Chester the Molester." Larry Flynt and his magazine are synonymous with depravity and sexual violence toward women and children. Calling a movie about them the "best and most important American film of the year" is horrible. Americans should be taking a stand against pornography, not promoting and glorifying it.

Noreen Mocsny
Cincinnati, Ohio

As a college freshman I remember certain dorm-mates who would pass *Hustler* along for its shock value. The photos of hideously mangled Vietnam War corpses placed next to pictures of nude female contortionists still rock my sensibilities 15 years later. No doubt Mr. Simon would notice the vibrant colors, applaud the bold portfolio, or even enjoy the "maximum bare skin." Also noteworthy was the barrage of anti-black, anti-Jewish, anti-Christian, and anti-lady (I use "lady" in its stricter sense; *Hustler* was definitely pro-wench) cartoons and commentary. *The People vs. Larry Flynt* shows that despite the gallant struggle of Michael Medved, et al., the dominant media's pro-Hell agenda is still right on track. The Supreme Court's decision supports the suspicion that a majority of our Robed Masters consume peyote during business hours. And the fact that Mr. Flynt was not rolled through city streets in a barrel of nails heralds the crack of our society's impending doom.

Carl E. Kling
Abingdon, Va.

I am glad to note that Anthony Comstock and Mrs. Grundy are alive and well, and producing progeny all over America. That the epistolarians have not seen The People vs. Larry Flynt *is obvious; that, blinded by righteous indignation, they have not been able to read properly what I wrote is equally clear. On the other hand, some of them seem far better acquainted with the contents of* Hustler *than their spiritual well-being should allow.*

Some authorities deplore pornography; others perceive it as a safety valve. Our country is great because it tolerates everything, right and left, until the law is broken. Alas, that allows some lunatics to create havoc, but the only alternative is to clamp down on various freedoms, each restriction begetting the next, and ending in a police state. There is no more partial freedom of speech than there is partial virginity.

We need the First Amendment to grant pigs the freedom of oinking and the NRA the right to lobby for the kind of gun laws that make a mass murderer's day. The movie makes it quite clear that it considers Flynt a pig—he is made to say so himself—but it is not the nightingales that need protection for their song. It is typical of my enlightened correspondents that they think the Supreme Court Justices peyote-heads, and that not rolling Flynt—literally—"in a barrel of nails heralds the crack of our society's impending doom," as Mr. Kling puts it with such charming illiteracy. Mrs. Mocsny and Mr. Hodulik complain that the film doesn't show a lot of Hustler *material. If it showed any more, it would be accused of reveling in smut under the pretext of holding it up for censure.* —JS

All Fouled Up

Regarding James Bowman's "Fowler Fouled" [Feb. 10]: I return occasionally to Fowler (the *real* one) for reassurance in a world gone linguistically mad. I'm still opposing "hopefully" in the impersonal sense and "fascinated with" instead of "fascinated by." Now we have the apparently serious use of "gender" to describe the differences between men and women. Not wishing to be considered a noun or adjective, I went straight to Fowler for support: "**gender**, n., is a grammatical term only. To talk of *persons* or *creatures of the masculine* or *feminine g.*, meaning *of the male* or *female sex*, is either a jocularity (permissible or not according to context) or a blunder."

The blunderers are at the gate!

Patricia Bentivegna
Loretto, Pa.

No doubt the substitution of gender *for* sex *was originally a slipshod extension; the problem for those who wish (as we ourselves have done) to resist it is the way in which the word* sex *has been changed. Once the popular culture started using* sex *to refer to an activity people engage in, rather than categories they belong to, it became impossible in certain contexts to use the word without provoking guffaws. Enter* gender, *taking on a usage for which etymologically it is not totally unsuited.* —LB

Caddish Concession

Anthony Lejeune's "The Return of the Cad" [Feb. 24] reminded me of Lord Marchmain's description of himself in *Brideshead Revisited*: "I am all the socialists would have me be, and a great stumbling-block to my own party." The fact that the Conservative Party would choose Alan Clark, a caricature of aristocratic decadence, as the candidate for their safest seat just prior to a very tough election suggests that they have all but conceded defeat and wish to go down with a modicum of ill-considered flair.

James T. Barry III
Milwaukee, Wisc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Kaufmann Fund®

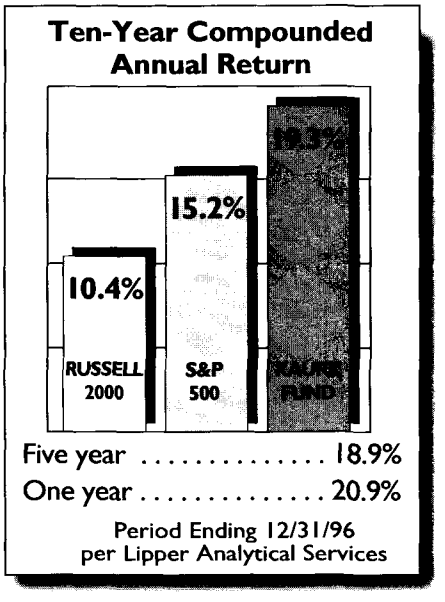
A Small Company Aggressive Growth Fund

#1 Performing Fund Since the Market Low of 1987

*— per Mutual Fund Forecaster**

"Tough Guys Finish FIRST"

— Mutual Funds Magazine, April '95



Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch, Portfolio Co-managers with over 65 years of combined Wall Street experience

Morningstar 5-Star (★★★★★) Rating**

(Out of 1,826 equity funds as of 12/31/96)

For a prospectus call: **(800) 666-9233**

24 hours per day, 7 days a week

IRA

*Out of 637 open-end equity funds, for the period of 12/4/87 - 12/31/96.

**Morningstar ratings are subject to change every month and are calculated from the funds' three-, five- and ten-year average annual returns with appropriate sales charge adjustments and a risk factor that reflects performance relative to three-month Treasury bill monthly returns. Ten percent of the funds in an investment category receive five stars.

Total returns for periods ending December 31, 1996 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. The Russell 2000 Index consists of 2,000 small and mid-cap companies. For more complete information including charges, expenses, and risks on small-cap stocks please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost. The prices of small company stocks are generally more volatile than those of large companies.

The Kaufmann Fund, Inc.

140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2261

Internet - http://www.kaufmann.com Prodigy - Jump Kaufmann AOL - Keyword: Kaufmann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM THE EDITOR

Interesting Times

■ Rich Lowry in this issue cites a Commerce Department memo that suggests attacks on the fund-raising scandal be characterized as racist and anti-Asian. This threat seems unlikely to work—neither Mr. Lowry's story nor our cover has been deterred by it—and with good reason: the bribes were solicited by Administration officials in Asian dress.

Blame lies mainly with those in the Administration who improved upon simple venality by making it plain to foreign interests that American policy was for sale on anything from trade to immigration and even citizenship (see next item). Maybe they meant to confine the offer to businesses, but governments overheard them, and in Asia the line between the two is not always clear.

The bottom line is that the Clinton Administration, and the New Class it represents, has no sense of national loyalty. It sees American interests as just another tradeable good. And when the truth came out, its immediate calculation was to trump disgust over its selling of the nation by an appeal to race.

■ "Vast Negligence Reported in Granting of Citizenship," coughed a *New York Times* headline discreetly in late February. The Administration, the story revealed, had granted 180,000 immigrants U.S. citizenship without background checks; if the usual rejection rate is any guide, several thousand felons were included in that number, some of them murderers and rapists. (How many were likely to have stayed in the Lincoln bedroom was not mentioned.)

A sidelight: the Immigration and Naturalization Service revoked the citizenship of twenty people last year "in procedures that typically took months to complete." So it should take about 300 years to correct this latest oversight.

Or was it an oversight? For when Tom McArdle of *Investor's Business Daily* first broke this story ("Instant Democrats," *NR*, July 1, 1996), he revealed that the Administration was *pressing* the INS to create new citizens in droves in the hope that they would be good Democrats. Background checks just had to wait.

More curiously, Mr. McArdle alleged in an exchange with INS Commissioner Doris Meissner ("Controversy," *NR*, November 11, 1996) that Vice President Gore's office was deeply implicated.

Now (page 22), he produces more evidence that Mr. Gore was up to his elbows in smuggling illegal citizens into the voting booth—and, honey, "negligence" had nothing to do with it.

Since an election is no longer at stake, the media are taking an interest in citizenship fraud—and also in the evidence of voter fraud in Louisiana and California assembled by *NR*'s Rich Lowry and Harold Johnson. If America had an opposition party, these revelations might even become a scandal.

■ The day after its citizenship story, the *Times* had an exciting scoop of its own. I turned eagerly to page 12 to read it.

It reported that Ron Fitzsimmons, executive director of the National Coalition of Abortion Providers, now admitted that he had lied earlier in claiming that partial-birth abortions were rare and performed mainly to save the life of the mother. As he now admits, they are in fact common and performed on healthy women with healthy fetuses.

Since President Clinton had defended partial-birth abortions on exactly the same grounds as Mr. Fitzsimmons, this presumably means that he too had lied on the issue—but, hey, who's counting.

The story appeared, flickered briefly, and then disappeared down the media's memory hole. But the suspicion lingered that, just maybe, Mr. Fitzsimmons had spent a night in the Lincoln bedroom. Not so—but a guest who was almost as distinguished did drop by for a presidential coffee: Dr. George Tiller of Wichita, one of America's leading late-term, ahem, "abortion providers."

Nothing shocking in that, of course. Abortion providers have traditionally been guests of the government.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW

March 24 issue; printed March 5

Editor
John O'Sullivan

Senior Editors
Peter Brimelow / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman

Managing Editor: Linda Bridges
Washington Editor: Kate O'Beirne
Articles Editor: Andrew Oliver
Executive Editor: Matthew Carolan
Literary Editor: David Klinghoffer
National Political Reporter: Rich Lowry
National Reporter: Ramesh Ponnuru
Economics Analyst: Ed Rubenstein
Roving Correspondent: Radek Sikorski
Art Director: Luba Kolomytseva
Associate Editor: Karina Rollins
Executive Secretary: Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor-at-Large: Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor: Jeanne Shanahan

Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Tracy Lee Simmons
Jane Buckley Smith / Christopher R. Weinkopf

Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins

Research Director: Dorothy McCartney
Librarian: John J. Virtes
Research Assistant: Russell Jenkins

Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
John Dizard / W. H. von Dreele
Andrew Ferguson / Neal B. Freeman
David Gelernter / John Gray / Florence King
Lawrence Kudlow / Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn
Anthony Lejeune / Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Allan H. Meltzer / Stephen Moore
Richard John Neuhaus / Paul Craig Roberts
Peter Samuel / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

President
Thomas L. Rhodes

Editor-at-Large
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / James Bowman / David Brudnoy
Richard C. Carpenter / Donald Coxe
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas
D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall
Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.

Associate Publisher: Jack Fowler
Assistant to the Publisher: Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President: Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer: James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager: Galina Veygman
Treasurer: Rose Flynn DeMaio

Business Services
Alex Batey / Julie Crane
Vickie Manca / Kristie Hong Woo

Washington Office Manager: Kathleen Meskill

Circulation 212-679-7330
Circulation Director: Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager: Jason Ng
World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com

Main Number 212-679-7330
Subscription Inquiries 815-734-1232
Washington Office 202-543-9226

Advertising Sales 212-679-7330
Advertising Manager: Scott F. Budd
Account Managers: Daniel E. Coakley, Todd Westover
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 810-626-9918
Los Angeles Rep. Frank Malone 310-541-9997

Publisher
Edward A. Capano

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ Were White House coffees used for fund-raising? **Clinton** mouthpiece **Mike McCurry**: "Technically, they were not used for fund-raising, but they became an element of the financial program that we were trying to pursue in connection with the campaign." Did Sen. **Chris Dodd** (D., Conn.) attend a controversial coffee? Dodd: "I would not argue I was there, and I would not argue I was not there." . . . **Dick Morris** on Clinton's renting out of the **Lincoln** bedroom: "Surprised he didn't auction off a place in his own bedroom. He'd probably sleep on the floor if somebody gave him a million." . . . Sens. **Russ Feingold** (D., Wis.) and **Pat Moynihan** (D., N.Y.) call for independent counsel in Clinton fund-raising scandals. *Wall Street Journal* reports that Clinton makes late-night calls to Senate Democrats to complain. Meanwhile, **Steve Forbes**'s Americans for Hope, Growth, and Opportunity runs ads seconding Moynihan. . . . **Elaine Chao**, former Peace Corps director and wife of Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R., Ky.), warns Sen. **Fred Thompson** (R., Tenn.) that aggressive Indogate hearings could frighten Asian-Americans. . . . At White House, SF mayor **Willie Brown** chose the Lincoln bedroom over the Queen's because although "the allure for my constituents was somewhat tempting . . . I went with the cat that freed me."

■ Sen. **Judd Gregg** (R., N.H.), facing low popularity, defects from pro-lifers on overseas abortion funding. Also defecting: Sen. **John Warner** (R., Va.), said to be paying back pro-lifers for their support of primary challenger **Jim Miller**. On eve of vote, National Audubon Society president **John Flicker** writes congressmen "to remind you that we approach population growth as one of the most critical environmental issues threatening the survival of birds and their habitat." . . . Conservative reps. are on the move: in Wisconsin **Mark Neumann** "definitely" will challenge ultralib Sen. Feingold in '98; in Missouri, **Jim Talent** may try to succeed Gov. **Mel Carnahan** (D.). Neumann's chances could be boosted by pro-life efforts to recall both Wisconsin senators, who voted to keep partial-birth abortion legal. . . . New California GOP chairman **Mike Schroeder** says investigating vote fraud against **Bob Dornan** won't undermine minority recruitment: "We're talking about outreach to Californians. Not outreach to felons." . . . In understatement of the year, Rep. **Tom Davis** (R., Va.) says of D.C. reform, "This is not going to be the Emerald City overnight." . . . Sen. **Rod Grams** (R., Minn.) on recent liberal proposals: "If socialism isn't good, it can't be good for kids."

■ Media matters: After **Trent Lott** defends large campaign contributions—"I think for [donors] to have the opportunity to do that is the American way"—*Newsweek* retorts, "So was slavery." . . . *Des Moines Register*'s **David Yepsen** reports that **Eleanor Clift** was featured speaker at recent Iowa Democratic fundraiser, but "party staffers refused to let local reporters cover the event because, they said, Clift wanted the visit to be low-key and didn't want anyone in Washington to find out about it." . . . **George Stephanopoulos** is identified as "the former presidential advisor and thinking woman's sex symbol" in the *New York Times*. . . . Two gems courtesy of Media Research Center: **Bryant Gumbel** tells *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, "I said to somebody that if **O.J.** killed his first wife, **Marguerite** [who is black], and her friend, then do I think **George Will** and **William F. Buckley** would have written about it? No way. Not on God's green earth. They wouldn't have even noticed." National Public Radio's **Scott Simon** goes on Gumbel's old show to explain that voters "seem to trust that as President Clinton displays his own excesses and frailties he forgives and accepts ours, too." . . . *Washington Blade*, the "gay weekly of the nation's capital," laments, "Independent polls in Hawaii and Iowa this week showed that —even in two states as disparate as these —the public's feelings are virtually identical: 70 per cent oppose legalizing same-sex marriage." . . . Deadline for applying to National Journalism Center's 12-week summer internship in Washington is May 2. Contact **Mal Kline** at 202-544-1333.

■ British Home Sec. **Michael Howard** plans to abandon option of jury trial for many crimes to save time, money in face of doubling of crime in past 18 years. Ban on most handguns, inspired by **Thomas Hamilton**'s attack on schoolchildren last year, becomes law. . . . After Russian Duma refuses to move, Pres. **Boris Yeltsin** moves to end death penalty by signing an international protocol. . . . After two decades in which Pakistan observed the Muslim Friday Sabbath, Prime Minister **Nawaz Sharif** shifts back to Monday–Friday work week. . . . Evidence mounts of large-scale purge in North Korea by **Kim Jong-il** of the aging team of his father, who ruled for forty years. . . . Called on carpet by military-dominated national-security council, Islamicist Prime Minister **Necmettin Erbakan** reaffirmed Turkey's commitment to secularism. Though Erbakan has flirted with Teheran, Turkey's army chief of staff re-endorses negotiations with Israel. Iranian Ambassador **Mohammed Raza Baghari** thrown out after speech calling for Turkey to adopt Muslim law and attacking Israel and Arab countries. . . . Power company threatens to cut off 24-hour lights in Philippine ex-Pres. **Ferdinand Marcos**'s mausoleum unless $215,000 bill is paid.

■ American Family Publishers sends Assemblies of God church in Bushnell, Fla., a sweepstakes notice: "**God**, we've been searching for you." If He wins, "what an incredible fortune there would be for God! Could you imagine the looks you'd get from your neighbors? But don't just sit there, God."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Today's *Bartlett's*: FDR: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." Ronald Reagan: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" Bill Clinton: "Show these people to their room."

■ In the wake of the fund-raising scandals, isn't it plain that, instead of raising money to beat Bill Clinton, conservatives should be raising money to buy him off? Clearly he has a price, and it isn't high.

■ After a coffee with ten members of the NRA, President Clinton announced that assault rifles "were a tool that Americans can use to fight crime—just one example of the kind of help that my Administration has been giving them for four years."

■ "Abortion is a woman's issue," President Clinton said, "because statistics show that slightly more than half of all aborted fetuses would grow up to be women. Killing these future women before they have a chance to learn and compete and achieve is worse than a crime—it is a tragedy." Executives of the National Right to Life Committee had rented the Lincoln Bedroom on three successive nights.

■ "Affirmative action was good policy for the twentieth century," President Clinton explained, after signing a national version of Proposition 209. "But in the twenty-first century it will be a policy of the past. Black Americans and white Americans alike can do better—and the Ward Connerly Anti-Discrimination Act will help them." Mr. Connerly and his family just returned from a special Caribbean vacation package on Air Force One.

■ Odds are that Alexis Herman will be confirmed by the GOP Senate as Secretary of Labor, which would mark a new low in Republican acquiescence to flawed Clinton nominees. Recent revelations in the press have exposed Miss Herman as a self-dealing race hustler who does not deserve a seat in the Cabinet. The last time Miss Herman was at the Labor Department, as director of the women's bureau under Jimmy Carter, she and her colleague Ernest Green (last seen helping a Chinese arms dealer who met with Clinton to get a U.S. visa) pushed $115 million worth of contracts out the door in the Administration's final days. It seems some of the contracts may have made it back to Miss Herman when she set up a consulting firm in the private sector. While she was at Labor, that department also awarded a $2-million grant to Jesse Jackson's PUSH. One of Jackson's specialties the last decade or so has been threatening boycotts of major corporations unless they show their appreciation for diversity—by hiring Miss Herman as a consultant. So Alexis Herman raked in bucks as a "monitor" of quota "covenants" between Jackson and companies like Burger King and Coca-Cola. If this nominee isn't rejected, the GOP might as well leave its advise-and-consent function in the Senate cloakroom.

■ The People's House? Better make that the People's Republic of China House.

■ At first the reform proposed by Rep. John Doolittle (R., Calif.) seemed modest enough: just make organizations testifying before Congress disclose any federal grants or subsidies they receive. That way, congressmen would know if someone stood to benefit from the program expansion he advocated. Doolittle's reform is now a House rule. But Bill Goodling (R., Pa.), chairman of the Education and Workforce Committee, isn't enforcing it—which means labor unions are getting a free ride. AFL-CIO witnesses have testified twice without disclosing their federal grants. On February 11, David Smith, AFL-CIO director of policy, testified that his organization did not get money from the Job Training Partnership Act; actually, it gets several million dollars each year. One reason Republicans are wimping out is that big businesses that receive corporate welfare don't want to comply. So far the chief benefit of the Doolittle rule has been watching liberals complain about paperwork. Rep. David Skaggs (D., Colo.) complains that the Congress has "erected a barricade of red tape between itself and the people it represents." Republicans should remind themselves that they represent taxpayers, not just taxtakers.

■ CORRECTION: In "For the Record" (Feb. 24), *NR* reported that Pope John Paul II wanted the Italian government to ban tobacco as a hard drug. In fact he was talk-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Do Garnet Hill, Nor-Cal and Blue Marlin Have in Common?

They're all small companies making a big splash in Japan. While it may not be surprising that global giants like MacDonald's, Coke and Microsoft are major players in the Japanese market, fewer people are aware of the scores of small U.S. companies that are carving out profitable niches in Japan.

• After just two years in Japan, Garnet Hill, Inc., a New Hampshire catalog company with 99 employees, has seen sales in Japan of its natural-fiber clothing, bedding and home furnishings become the most important part of its business. The secret of Garnet Hill's success, according to owner Jim Hamblin, is "to get things right the first time." This meant hiring a Tokyo ad agency to put together ads that helped build brand name recognition, installing a toll-free fax number and a Japanese post office box address, and employing Japanese-speaking staff to handle calls.

• Nor-Cal Beverage, a California-based soft drink company, has had an unexpected success in Japan producing private label brands like "U.S. Cola" and "Savings Lemon Lime" for discount chains. "Just a few years ago, we used to visualize Japan as highly structured and rigid," says Nor-Cal CEO Lynn Barkalow. "Not anymore."

• According to *The Journal of Commerce* of January 30, 1997, two-year-old Blue Marlin Corp. sells 35 percent of its baseball caps and vintage-style clothes in Japan. Says Erik Stuebe, Blue Marlin president: "The Japanese appreciate our quality and design."

• Town & Country Cedar Homes, based in Petoskey, Michigan, sells 25 percent of its cedar timber homes and log cabins in Japan. "We're successul in Japan because we've developed a product that's suited to Japanese consumer tastes, we've built strong distributor relationships here, and we're making a long-term commitment to the Japanese market," explains Town & Country Cedar Homes president Stephen R. Biggs.

Not only has expanding into Japan been a good move for these companies and many more like them, but it also shows that you don't have to be a big multinational to take advantage of opportunities in today's Japanese market. Unfortunately, such positive trends are seldom reported by the media. That's a shame, because the more U.S. companies operating in Japan, the better for U.S.-Japan trade relations—today *and* tomorrow.

Japan Business Information Center
KEIZAI KOHO CENTER

The Japan Business Information Center is an independent, non-profit organization affiliated with the Keidanren (Japan Federation of Economic Organizations) and funded by private industry. Write us at 145 W. 57th Street, Dept. 100, New York, N.Y. 10019 (fax: 212-489-6211), or visit us at www.keidanren.or.jp.

This material is distributed by the Japan Business Information Center, which is registered with the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent of the Keizai Koho Center, Tokyo, Japan. It is filed with the Department of Justice where the required registration statement is available for public inspection. Registration does not indicate approval of the contents of this material by the U.S. Government.

© 1997 Keizai Koho Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing about marijuana. So the Pope is right about tobacco, though wrong about pot.

■ "Court Sidesteps Language Dispute" was the AP headline, but in fact the Supreme Court's March 3 ruling in the Arizona Official English case was an overwhelming victory for Robert Park and English Language Advocates, who defended the 1988 initiative making English the official language of government in Arizona. The Supreme Court used a technical loophole to avoid ruling on the constitutionality of Official English legislation. But this in effect let the Arizona initiative stand, and rebuked Judge Stephen Reinhardt of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, who had ruled that linguistic minorities had a First Amendment right to deal with the government in their own language. The constitutional issue is to be tried again in the Arizona state courts. However, by a fortunate chance there is a Republican majority in Congress which can encourage the Arizona courts by passing legislation making English the official language of the Federal Government. (The House voted for this last year, but the Senate never acted.) Over to you, Newt and Trent. Again.

■ John Travolta snagged the part of Bill Clinton, thinly disguised, for the movie version of *Primary Colors*. In *Michael*, his last film, Mr. Travolta played a sloppy, overeating, lecherous guy who thinks he's an angel. What made Universal think of him for this role is anyone's guess.

■ Writing in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Bruce Chapman of the Discovery Institute points out some eccentric Biblical scholarship accompanying a decision of the Ninth Circuit Court. The court was doing what courts like to do best, striking down a democratically ratified statute, this one banning assisted suicide in Washington State. For the majority, Judge Stephen Reinhardt (again!) asserted that the practice of killing oneself is endorsed by no less an authority than the Bible. Says the judge: "The stories of four suicides are noted in the Old Testament—Samson, Saul, Abimelech, and Ahithophel—and none is treated as an act worthy of censure. In the New Testament, the suicide of Judas Iscariot is not treated as a further sin, rather as an act of repentance." In fact, apart from Samson, who didn't commit suicide at all but died fighting, each of the suicides named by the judge is presented by the Bible as the culmination and fulfillment of a sinful life—an act not of repentance but of despair. What will our learned jurists come up with next? Look for these innovative works of Biblical scholarship due out soon from the Ninth Circuit: "Gay Marriage: A Beloved Canaanite Tradition," and "Child Sacrifice: No Objection from Moloch."

■ The New Mexico legislature, by voice vote, enthusiastically passed the following bill: "When a psychologist or psychiatrist testifies during a defendant's competency hearing, the psychologist or psychiatrist shall wear a cone-shaped hat that is not less than 2 feet tall. The surface of the hat shall be imprinted with stars and lightning bolts. Additionally, a psychologist or psychiatrist shall be required to don a white beard that is not less than 18 inches in length, and shall punctuate crucial elements of his testimony by stabbing the air with a wand. Whenever a psychologist or psychiatrist provides expert testimony regarding the defendant's competency, the bailiff shall contemporaneously dim the courtroom lights and administer two strikes to a Chinese gong."

■ The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW would appreciate the Clinton Administration's respecting our publishing schedule by hereafter having its new scandals erupt on an orderly, fortnightly basis.

Fortune Favors the Brave

WHEN Newt Gingrich rejected Kate O'Beirne's advice last November that he remain master of his fate by stepping aside as Speaker, he calculated that he could remain a vigorous leader indefinitely. In deference to that judgment, *NR*, like almost all Republican congressmen, supported his re-election. But Gingrich has not been delivering on his end of the bargain. Sustaining his position had to mean more than squeaking through the vote; it had to mean a resumption of conservative leadership. This has not happened.

The result, as Mrs. O'Beirne documents in this issue, is a dangerous vacuum of leadership in the House. The problem isn't just that Congress is off to a slow start; as Dick Armey points out, that is normal after a presidential election. It is that Republicans have no strategy, no self-confidence, no initiative. Most committee chairmen act like pre-Reagan Republicans. The malaise extends to the Senate as well, where Trent Lott's "Agenda for the 105th Congress"—a crime bill re-authorizing the Violence Against Women Act, "Bob Dole Investment Accounts" to finance college, liability reform—might as well be called the Contract with Somnolence. Republicans are counting on the proliferating Clinton scandals to do their work for

Chinese Water Torture

Mr. Huang goes drip, drip, drip;
Mr. Chung, plop, plop.
Mr. Trie, who's from Taiwan,
Sometimes brings a mop.
Erskine Bowles is going nuts.
Moynihan looks wan.
Janet Reno stalls, but she
Knows it's not the john.

—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Junk science makes junk law

Dick Thornburgh

Former
US Attorney General

Former Governor
of Pennsylvania

Counsel to
Kirkpatrick & Lockhart LLP

"Most of us assume that only experts may offer "expert" testimony in court. Wrong.

More and more, so-called "experts" are called to testify who have little or no basis for their opinions.

Sadly enough, it's all perfectly legal.

If your "expert's" resume shows general expertise – then practically any opinion that person utters, whether it's scientifically based or just conjecture, becomes legitimate testimony.

I call it "junk science." And as the litigation explosion expands in this country, the resulting "junk law" is pervading our courtrooms – not to mention the lives and welfare of those unjustly accused of causing injury. The penalized victims are America's workers and consumers.

Examples abound. For instance, breast implants: the growing body of scientific evidence simply does not support allegations that they cause all the maladies they've been accused of causing. But misinformation is spread in courtrooms and through the media – regardless of documented truth.

How about the "power lines cause cancer" witch hunt – or the Alar-treated apples scare that nearly threw thousands of innocent growers out of work – or the charge against the Audi 5000 for an acceleration syndrome that was, millions of dollars later, shown to be false. Or Bendectin, a legitimately helpful medicine pulled off the market because of ungrounded court testimony and unfounded press coverage, even though it never lost a case.

There are many others. Cases built on the testimony of so-called experts who claim pedicle screws are defective – in spite of having no scientific evidence, and in the face of their recommended use by respected orthopedic surgeons.

Just imagine the products Americans will never have the benefit of because of junk science.

Everyone knows that junk science can be stopped – by ethical lawyers and stronger judicial gatekeepers. The Washington Legal Foundation, through its participation in court cases and its educational publishing and programs is striving for a balanced and reasonable judiciary.

I hope, for the sake of truth and justice, that others follow."

A public service message brought to you by

Washington Legal Foundation

Free enterprise advocates with public interest know how.

2009 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Wealth of Nations
THE SCALE AND REVOLUTIONS
BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL
Copernicus
An Essay on the Principle of Population

Bound in genuine leather, accented in 22kt gold.

YOUR COLLECTION INCLUDES THESE HISTORY-SHAPING WORKS...

The Wealth of Nations
by Adam Smith

Common Sense
by Thomas Paine

Democracy in America
by Alexis de Tocqueville

Das Kapital
by Karl Marx

The Interpretation of Dreams
by Sigmund Freud

Magna Carta

A General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money
by John Maynard Keynes

A Vindication of the Rights of Women
by Mary Wollstonecraft

Uncle Tom's Cabin
by Harriet Beecher Stowe

On the Origin of Species
by Charles Darwin

AND OTHERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

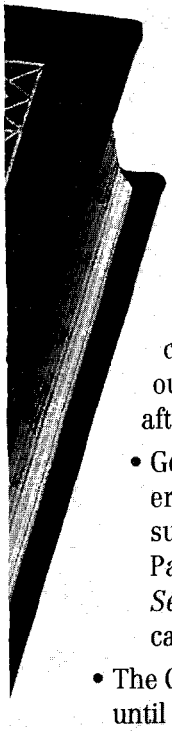
These are the books that made history...

THE BOOKS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

Own your first volume for only $9.95!

For better and for worse, these are the books that changed the course of history! The power of their words has caused people to lose their lives or to better them...to flee their native countries and to create new ones...to understand the mysteries of the natural world and to use that knowledge for both good and evil.

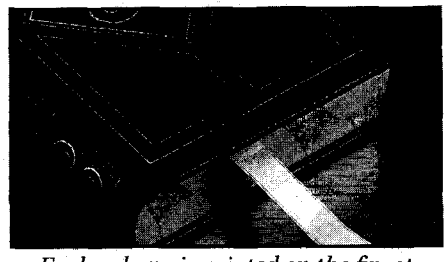
Now, you have the opportunity to explore these important, historic books for yourself in the finest editions ever published... *The Books That Changed The World*...elegantly bound in genuine leather.



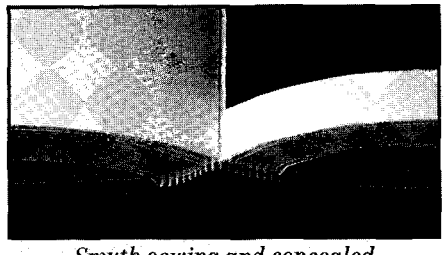
Books that will never be forgotten.

The rare book that is so revolutionary, so persuasive, that it changes the course of history, demands our attention...even centuries after it is published:

- George Washington considered himself a loyal British subject— before Thomas Paine published *Common Sense* and sparked the American Revolution.
- The Great Depression deepened until John Maynard Keynes suggested that government spend money when individuals and private industries would not or could not. He summed up his ideas in *A General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money.* It is still the century's most influential work on economics.



Each volume is printed on the finest quality acid-neutral paper. Pages are gilt-edged for beauty and durability.



Smyth sewing and concealed muslin joints strengthen the binding and ensure the book's long life.

Endpapers are elegant moiré fabric, and each volume has its own satin ribbon page marker.

- People dismissed dreams as nonsense, without meaning, until Sigmund Freud shed light on dreams and the extraordinary role of the subconscious, in *The Interpretation of Dreams.*

For all their importance and influence, many of these books are difficult to find today in hardcover, let alone in luxurious leather editions.

Easy to understand introductions.

Each volume in *The Books That Changed The World* is introduced by a leading authority. These easy to understand introductions will help make each work more accessible, and explain how its contents changed the course of history.

The Collection.

The Books That Changed The World includes forty history-shaping works delivered in six shipments. Your satisfaction is completely guaranteed. You may pay for just one book per month at the attractive price of $41.90 per volume (plus shipping and handling). You may return any volume within 30 days for a replacement or full refund. And naturally, you may cancel your subscription at any time. Order today!

© MBI

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Easton Press
47 Richards Ave. • Norwalk, CT 06857

Phone Orders: 1-800-367-4534 • Ext. 196-336
Monday-Friday, 8am-6pm Eastern Time

THE BOOKS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

Please send me the first volume, *The Wealth of Nations,* for only $9.95 plus shipping and handling, and reserve my subscription to *The Books That Changed The World.* I understand that either party may cancel at any time and that I may return any book within 30 days for a full refund.

All orders subject to acceptance. Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.
**Includes shipping and handling.*

☐ Please bill $12.70* and any future books to my:
☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card Number _____ Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

☐ I wish to pay by check. Enclosed is $12.70* payable to Easton Press.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them—but exploiting those scandals does nothing to gain *intellectual* ground for conservatism.

Over the last two years, we have offered copious advice on how such ground can be won: by avoiding an unwinnable fight on entitlements; by keeping the importance of balancing the budget in perspective; by providing broad-based tax relief to the American people; by taking the task of national defense seriously; by making modest first steps against the abortion culture; and by opposing the Balkanization of the country through state-sponsored discrimination and mass immigration. This strategy, however, cannot be followed as long as Republicans acquiesce in the bland bi-partisanship that now reigns in Washington.

Conservatives may have expected too much of their congressional leadership. Every conservative advance since 1945 has been won against the opposition of the GOP establishment of the day—from *NR*'s rebellion against the vapid Eisenhower consensus in the Fifties to Gingrich's rebellion against George Bush in 1990. It was wrong to think that conservative congressional leadership removed the need for outside pressure.

America is not a monarchy. Conservatives should not wait for their "leaders" to devise an agenda. Instead, individual legislators and conservative organizations should practice self-help. Where is the senator who is willing to do whatever it takes, including filibusters, to block activist judges? Or the congressman willing to say that the balanced budget should not get in the way of more important objectives, like tax cuts? Or the Republican willing to meet the women-in-combat issue head-on?

If Republican backbenchers seize the initiative, they will win the hearts of conservatives around the country. And they will have staked a claim to lead the Republican Party in the future. Power abhors a vacuum. Newt Gingrich emerged briefly from his bunker to attack the spreading Clinton–Gore scandals as bigger than Watergate. But he will have to lead a more sustained and substantive campaign for a fresh conservative agenda if his already tenuous hold on House Republicans is not to slip away completely. Mr. Gingrich's principles are in the end more important than he is. Let him either get on or get out.

Grand Old Parties

RICHARD Nixon's political idol, Benjamin Disraeli, was said to have intuited "the Conservative Working Man"—cf. the Southern Strategy, the Reagan Democrats—as a sculptor perceives an angel imprisoned in a block of marble. That the Republicans need similarly creative leadership was underlined by a report by chief Dole pollster Tony Fabrizio.

Fabrizio's analysis breaks the party into five segments: supply-siders (20 to 22 per cent of the party), deficit hawks (25 to 31 per cent), cultural populists (23 to 26), moralists (19 to 23), and progressives (5 to 10). The economic conservatives were disproportionately male, the sociocultural conservatives female.

Progressives were so far out of line with the rest of the party that they might properly be viewed as confused or snobbish Democrats. But there were other deep divisions. Every segment of the party except the supply-siders thought balancing the budget more important than cutting taxes. Only the moralists were heavily pro-life. The social conservatives were (marginally) opposed to the flat tax. Economic conservatives had virtually no interest in social issues. And some Fabrizio findings directly challenge the party's self-image: every segment of the party leaned against free trade and toward "clean air and water" regardless of cost.

In fact, not just the progressives are confused. Fully 35 per cent of Republicans who want Jack Kemp in 2000 fit into the deficit hawk (a/k/a "root canal") category; they

The Week in Verse

Though once 'twas thought to be of womankind
The great prerogative to change the mind,
Of late we see the sexes re-arrange
Themselves, and who's so bold to mind the change?
Well, 'tis a boon to men, if they resign
To take a post—let's say—at *Pepperdine*,
Then unresign, and find that it's no bar
To self-respect, or that they've dimmed their *Starr*.
Likewise, though *Landrieu* firmly holds her course
The Balanced Budget mandate to endorse,
Those slimy slugs like *Johnson*, *Torricelli*,
Who slither on secretions from their belly,
Don't seem to notice that they've been unmanned
And lack the backbone any more to stand—
Or swear that they break faith on principle
As though of what they crawl amidst they're full.
(Th' Amendment fails by one: experience
Suggests how far this is coincidence.)
Fair *Conscience*, too, as always wins a share
Of principled apostates everywhere.
So brave *Fitzsimmons* looks for *Honor's* wreath
Although he lied (he now says) "through his teeth."

This fashion for recanting *Clinton* shuns—
Since when is he for sticking to his guns?—
And holds to his fantastical contortions
As champion of partial-birth abortions.
Such character as this nor bows nor bends:
No wonder he has got so many friends
Who come to visit, much to his delight,
And drink his coffee—or else spend the night.
Miss *Reno's* firm of purpose like her chief
And still refuses (much to his relief)
T' appoint a single Special Counsel more
To look at shakedowns made by *Dodd* or *Gore*.
What though she's urged to it by *Moynihan*?
Is she, at least, not stomached like a man?

—JUVENAL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SWEET SMELL OF SUCCESS℠

BELMONDO CHURCHILL

A new star in our line of distinguished cigars for discriminating smokers. Made possible only by our special, exclusive arrangement with a well known grower of fine tobaccos whose cigars are preferred by those sophisticated smokers who other smokers follow. Belmondo Churchills are 7" x 50 ring. They hold their own with such world-class cigars as La Gloria Cubana, Fuente and Partagás and we hold the total available supply, ready for you to enjoy to the fullest.

BELMONDO

BELMONDO

MY INTRODUCTORY OFFER TO NEW CUSTOMERS

7 Belmondo Churchills for $15.00;
Regular Retail $30.00.

THOMPSON CIGAR CO.

P.O. Box 31274 • Tampa, FL 33633-0537 • Dept. T391

Send me7 Natural wrapper, Belmondo Churchills (N75055) For $15.00 + $3.95 shipping. (Florida residents add 6% sales tax + appropriate county tax). **ONE ORDER PER CUSTOMER**

My Name _____

My Street Address _____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Daytime Phone # ( ) _____

❑ **$18.95 Enclosed. Charge to my** ❑ **VISA** ❑ **MasterCard** ❑ **AmExpress** ❑ **Discover**

Signed _____

Credit Card No. (Print All Digits) _____ Exp. Date _____

OFFER EXPIRES 8/97 • OFFER NOT AVAILABLE TO MINORS • OFFER GOOD ONLY IN THE USA

1915 THOMPSON &CO.,INC.

America's Oldest Mail Order Cigar Company. Est. 1915

1-800-237-2559 Dept.-T391 Fax: 813-882-4605

© 1995, Thompson & Co., Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are his largest base of support. (Overall favorite: Colin Powell.) Al Gore is viewed favorably by 41 per cent.

All of this is less surprising than some pundits have proclaimed. Fabrizio finds identical divisions in the Democratic Party. Indeed, there are actually more Democratic than Republican "cultural populists." This suggests the Republican leadership would be well advised to stop being so banana-backed about affirmative action, which Fabrizio reports is a hot cultural populist issue. And which, almost incredibly, Fabrizio lists as having been stolen by President Clinton, although the theft in question is not even rhetorical.

This highlights the secondary value of the Fabrizio survey: the light it casts on the thinking, so to speak, of the Republican Beltway Establishment. Apart from its chronic timidity and passivity, it regards its own supporters in the boondocks with a crudely ignorant suspicion that paradoxically accepts the worst Democratic allegations about them—as Fabrizio's questions make plain.

Respondents were asked whether "government has a responsibility to restrict homosexual behavior" and whether "public policy should not contradict God's law." This misses the central reality of the Religious Right: its profoundly defensive character. Restrictions on homosexual behavior, for instance, aren't on anyone's agenda. But gay marriage, adoption rights, and extending antidiscrim-

--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

* REVELATIONS ROCK WHITE HOUSE

Under header "Clinton Had Fallback Plan for '96 Race," W. POST's Woodward reports that "White House officials, including the President and Vice President, took part in discussions about 'rubbing out' the 1996 Republican nominee for President." The proposal was "originally made by the First Lady" in early 1995, "when Democratic fortunes were at a nadir." "Mrs. Clinton, according to several hundred sources in the Administration, told the President, 'You want to be relevant? I bet some Mafia hit men could make you relevant!' " These "plans were shelved in the winter of 1995–96, when the shape of the Republican field made them 'unnecessary,' in the eyes of White House insiders. 'It would have been overkill, if you'll pardon the expression,' said one" (4/12).

REAX: Asked about the controversy on "Meet the Press," Dick Morris refused to "confirm or deny" that assassination plans were made: "I did do some polling on different methods and on the public reaction to the untimely death of the various Republican contenders" (4/13). ABC's Stephanopoulos: "Were we planning for any contingency, were we dedicated to winning the presidential race when nobody thought we could? I plead guilty, lock me up and throw away the key. But we didn't do anything previous Republican Administrations hadn't done" ("This Week," 4/13). Sam Donaldson: "I guess what really bothers me is that they were going to use taxpayer money to implement this plan, which would clearly have been an aggressively partisan plan, when they should have been spending the money and the time they spent plotting working, both parties together, on the people's business." Cokie Roberts: "This will just end up reinforcing people's negative attitudes about Washington and that's the real tragedy here" (4/13).

SPIN CONTROL: Ann Lewis: "It's no accident that these charges came out just as this President began to fight for America's children against the tobacco lobby. This is nothing more than a partisan witch hunt" (mult., 4/14). Mike McCurry: "Any hit men, and I'm not saying there were any, would have been paid for by the DNC, not the White House" (NYT, 4/14). Clinton: "I guess I'm just going to have to keep taking this kind of abuse. It's the price I pay for working so hard for the American people to balance the budget while protecting Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment" (mult., 4/14). *More Clinton:* "I just want to make it clear that nobody has accused me of doing anything wrong." James Carville: "Republicans are such wimps. Nobody's dead and they're still whining" (Imus, 4/14). W. TIMES's Pruden: "If they were real men, Republicans would respond in kind. Who says we can't put in a hit on Chris Dodd?" (4/14).

MORE REAX: Dole: "I wouldn't have worried. This gang couldn't shoot straight" (TIME, 4/14). NEWSWEEK's Clift: "It's no accident that these charges came out just as President Clinton began to push his historic anti-smoking initiatives. This is a partisan witch-hunt by the far Right" ("Late Edition," 4/13). Fred Barnes: "My sense is this is approaching critical mass in the media" ("CBS This Morning," 4/14). W. TIMES's Fields: "What's interesting about this latest scandal is that men and women are reacting to it differently. The First Lady may be from Venus, but assassins are from Mars." (4/14). NYT editorial: "Mr. Clinton's outreach to the murder community raises serious questions. They deserve forthright answers" (4/13). Jack Kemp: "I wish my friends in the White House had devoted their attention to creating an economic renaissance in our inner cities. Instead of paying one group to kill another, they should have cut capital-gains taxes for all" (EMPOWER AMERICA press release). Al Hunt: "I've never heard Republicans express this outrage over young black men being shot down in the streets every day. Maybe now they'll take gun control more seriously" ("Cap. Gang," CNN, 4/13) W. POST's Kurtz quotes "a conservative strategist who wishes to remain anonymous": "At the end of the day Republicans might have been better off without Dole."

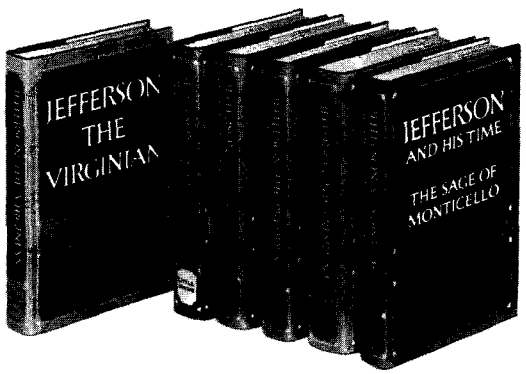
—Ramesh Ponnuru

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BEST HISTORY HAS TO OFFER.

With no risk, no commitment.

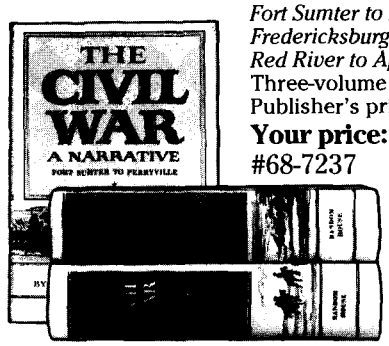
Dumas Malone's JEFFERSON



The Virginian; And the Rights of Man; And the Ordeal of Liberty; The President—First Term; The President—Second Term; The Sage of Monticello. Six-volume biography. Publisher's prices total $165

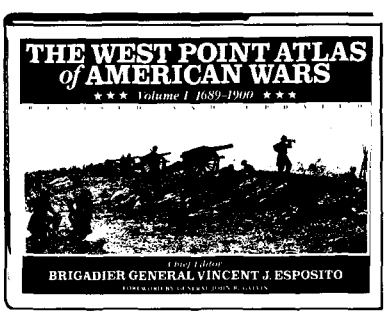
Your price: $14
#38-8078

Shelby Foote's THE CIVIL WAR



Fort Sumter to Perryville; Fredericksburg to Meridian; Red River to Appomattox. Three-volume narrative. Publisher's prices total $120

Your price: $15
#68-7237



THE WEST POINT ATLAS OF AMERICAN WARS
Volume I: 1689–1900, Revised and Updated

A classic West Point text, its 158 maps and accompanying descriptions explore each conflict and offer a fuller understanding of strategy as it was applied in the thick of battle. Publisher's price $75

Your price: $14.95 #28-2697

Allan Nevins' THE ORDEAL OF THE UNION

Fruits of Manifest Destiny; A House Dividing; Douglas, Buchanan and Party Chaos; Prologue to Civil War; The Improvised War; War Becomes Revolution; The Organized War; The Organized War to Victory. Eight volumes. Publisher's prices total $200

Your price: $30 #88-7054

HBC All the best history. All in one place.

Landmark works. Hailed by readers, historians, and critics alike. No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today at as much as 30% off publishers' list prices. Through this special Introductory Offer, you can try History Book Club with no risk and no commitment. You may cancel membership at any time. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

Save as much as 30% with low Members' prices.

You'll enjoy significant savings off the publisher's price on each selection you make from the 150–200 volumes featured in the History Book Club *Review,* along with the new main title, the "Editors' Choice." History Book Club always offers its Members well-made, long-lasting editions. How the Club works: You'll receive our *Review* and a dated Reply Form about every 3 weeks (17 times a year). If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing. It will be sent to you automatically. If you want another book, or no book at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment. Your HBC guarantee: If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had fewer than 10 days to decide, just send it back and owe nothing.

Guarantee of Satisfaction: You may examine your introductory books for 10 days, FREE. If you are not satisfied, for any reason whatsoever, simply return the books and you will be under no further obligation.

HISTORY Book Club®
Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk, no-commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the selection whose number I have entered in the space below. Bill me at the low Introductory Price, plus shipping and handling.

Selection # [—] 7-66 H123-3-4

Name
(Please print clearly)

Address Apt.

City State Zip

To help us serve you, please tell us what you like to read. *(Please circle one number for each category.)* #053

	STRONGLY DISLIKE	SOMEWHAT DISLIKE	NO OPINION	SOMEWHAT LIKE	STRONGLY LIKE
A. Civil War	1	2	3	4	5
B. Ancient History	1	2	3	4	5
C. Military History	1	2	3	4	5
D. American History	1	2	3	4	5
E. British History	1	2	3	4	5
F. Russia, Asia, the Middle East	1	2	3	4	5
G. European History	1	2	3	4	5
H. Current Affairs	1	2	3	4	5
I. Social/Intellectual History	1	2	3	4	5

Send No Money Now.

©1997 History Book Club. All orders subject to approval. Prices and offer may differ in Canada.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ination laws to cover "homophobia" emphatically are on the Left's agenda. Similarly, no one is proposing an established church. But the Left mounts anti-Christian campaigns in the public square daily.

After this, it comes as a relief to find that Fabrizio's poll offered only punishment or treatment, not legalization, as drug-policy options; and asked no questions at all about language policy or immigration. In Fabrizio's Beltwayese, these questions would probably have come out: Are you in favor of pushing drugs, translating the motto on the Great Seal into Inuit, and deporting all foreigners?

Life without Rams

Dolly, cloned from DNA
(Dolly Parton's lamb)
By an enterprising Scot,
Doesn't give a damn
Who the hell the ewe was who
Made life comfy till
Frankenstein disbursed cigars,
Though the Pope looks ill.

—W. H. VON DREELE

Spanning the Spectrum

FOR twenty years, with the patience and the pace of some unflappable tortoise, C-SPAN has chronicled the nation's politics. Creator and anchorman Brian Lamb, the prince of un-chic, tirelessly fields the remarks of obnoxious callers, preening journalists, and anxious authors, while C-SPAN's no-production-value cameras record speeches, press conferences, hearings, and the meetings of obscure grouplets.

C-SPAN is a public service of the cable industry. Last year's telecommunications reform unleashed the animal spirits, with the result that C-SPAN has been bumped by higher bidders in about one-twelfth of its markets. Cable stations have the right to make a dollar any way they can. But do they know what a resource they have?

C-SPAN is one of the very few places on television where conservatives can be heard without a smirk, or at all. (The same goes for dogmatic leftists.) It is the only network that takes the rituals and the processes of politics seriously enough to show them, uncut. Even in the supposed golden age of television, convention coverage was more about Chet and David's banter than the business at hand. Last summer, Ted Koppel left the Democratic convention in Chicago early, because he was bored. It was a boring convention, but it nominated the winner of the 1996 election. C-SPAN took it more seriously than all its rivals, and many voters. Let the sellers beware.

Globe Warms, Chills Out

ON March 3 the *New York Times* let its readers down. Surely it could have found a scientist who would have linked the destructive tornadoes in Arkansas to global warming? There is nothing to beat the *Times*'s science writers when it comes to contriving "evidence" for the Mother of All Scares or, as Al Gore has called it, "industrial civilization's terrible onslaught against the natural world." In mid 1995 the *Times* had global warming killing hundreds of people in Chicago. At least that was an unusual hot spell. But then global warming was used to explain January 1996's severe snowstorm in the Northeast; a *Times* headline read: "Blame global warming for the blizzard." Later it ran a story from William Stevens reporting that 1995 had been the "hottest year on record." It turned out that Stevens (described by Jeffrey Salmon, director of the George Marshall Institute, as "the Walter Duranty of science journalism") was relying on faulty data. When the year's data were complete, 1995 turned out to be very average. According to the Earth System Science Lab at the University of Alabama at Huntsville, which tracks global temperatures for NASA, the *Times*'s "hottest year on record" was just 0.05 degree above average. It was cooler than 1991, 1990, 1988, 1987, 1983, 1981, and 1980. Despite mild end-of-year temperatures in North America, 1996 was also very close to average world-wide—0.09 degree below average. Dr. John Christie of Huntsville says there really isn't much of a story in the temperature trend of the last two decades. After recently re-analyzing global temperature data from NASA satellites over the 18 years they have been aloft, he concludes: "There is no evidence of global warming in the revised data. The temperature trend for that time is a cooling of 0.035 degrees Celsius per decade."

Cloning Cloning Cloning

THE first reactions to cloning were surprising in their consensus: Left or Right, there was concern about losing the sense of human beings as unique, as creatures who must be respected in themselves rather than as things that are "made," or manufactured to order, or used as a source of spare parts.

Still, when humanity gets down to cases, the prospects may become more seductive. With the right genetic manipulation, for example, it may be possible to grow, in pigs, livers that will not excite the immune systems of humans when there is a need to transplant these organs. But if much can be gained from a pig, what benefits may be gained from the donations of humans?

G. K. Chesterton remarked that the modern world has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW! Visit http://www.quotesmith.com

INSTANT LIFE INSURANCE QUOTES FROM 140 LEADING COMPANIES

$500,000 TERM LIFE SAMPLER

GUARANTEED ANNUAL PREMIUMS FOR MALES, NO TOBACCO USE

Age	Ten Year Level	Fifteen Year Level	Twenty Year Level
35	$ 280	$ 320	$ 420
40	$ 375	$ 440	$ 565
45	$ 585	$ 700	$ 900
50	$ 910	$ 1,115	$ 1,370
55	$ 1,345	$ 1,675	$ 1,800
60	$ 2,185	$ 2,734	$ 3,560
65	$ 3,804	$ 4,462	$ 6,235
70	$ 6,620	$ 9,330	$11,304
75	$11,430	$15,589	$21,214

This announcement appears as a matter of information only and is not an insurance solicitation. Accordingly, Quotesmith is not hereby endorsing or recommending any specific insurance company, coverage or policy type. All quotes shown are from insurance companies rated A-, A, A+ or A++ by A.M. Best Company and include all fees and commissions. Actual premiums and coverage availability will vary depending upon age, sex, state availability, health history and recent tobacco usage. Most policies shown are guaranteed renewable to at least age 90, except in NY.

"Quotesmith provides a list of all insurance companies & plans that match specific needs. The first to make available this new custom-search service."
- Nation's Business

"Quotesmith saved us time and money. I shopped from my own office and found the best deal available. I was impressed."
- Linda Picazio, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

"Get quotes on the spot. New source for best buys in insurance. One way to get to know the market..." *- Kiplinger's Personal Finance*

"Quotesmith keeps a database of about 350 insurance companies." *- Good Housekeeping*

"Quotesmith offers particularly thorough searches." *- Los Angeles Times*

"Quotesmith ranked more than 250 policies for Forbes. The premiums vary wildly." *- Forbes*

"Researching insurance companies can be confusing and tedious. To simplify the task, call Quotesmith." *- SmartMoney*

"Quotesmith will scan the insurers and provide a list of different policies suited to your needs." *- Money Magazine*

New! **Here's a free (and instant) insurance price comparison service.** Visit http://www.quotesmith.com and you'll get immediate access to the lowest term life rates available from 140 leading companies. Quotesmith also gives you detailed policy coverage information and the latest safety ratings from every major independent rating agency. And when you're ready, the Quotesmith web site even allows you to apply to the company of your choice online *which means that you can avoid insurance salesmen altogether*. Use the Quotesmith insurance price comparison service before you buy or renew any life insurance policy. Have questions or want quotes mailed to you for free? Call us at **1-800-431-1147**.

http://www.quotesmith.com

Quotesmith Internet insurance price comparison service

Ad Code: NR 3/97

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reached a condition in which "it is wrong even when it is right." It may do sensible things, but "it is rapidly ceasing to have any of the sensible reasons for doing them." The modern world denounces superstitions, but "its own principal virtues are now almost entirely superstitions." And so we may preserve a revulsion toward cannibalism, but people find it harder to explain why. They are more likely to fall back on convention ("That isn't what we do here, or at least not on Fridays"). The matter was explained more readily when people had the sense, with Aristotle, of the critical differences that separated human beings from animals, or when that understanding was fortified by the religious conviction that human beings were made in the image of something higher.

But our own age tends to cast doubt on these convictions and to make much less of the differences between men and animals. As Chesterton observed of cannibalism, "the modern theorist will have to defend his own sanity with a prejudice. It is the medieval theologian who can defend it with a reason." Left and Right are determined now to draw a bright line between cloning animals and manipulating humans. But what are the prospects for preserving that barrier when, in countless ways, every day, people suggest that they no longer remember, or respect, the reasons behind it?

Leo Rosten, R I P

HIS formal reputation was made as a bard and lexicographer of the Yiddish tongue. His ear for language and his scholarship (*The Joys of Yiddish*, *The Education of H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N*) lovingly and learnedly passed along to his adopted country (Leo Rosten was born in Poland and came to Chicago at age three) those words and phrases in Yiddish for which there is no English substitute, hence the omnipresence of *schlep* and *chutzpah* and so many others. His pedagogical instrument was humor. His Kaplan book, published in 1937, was greeted with enthusiasm by Harold Nicolson (whose best friends were not Jewish) and P. G. Wodehouse. Evelyn Waugh thought it worthy of Dickens. Rosten was very far from being a jokester. He had taken a doctorate in political science at the University of Chicago, where one of his classmates was Milton Friedman, and gone on to study under Harold Laski at the London School of Economics. He taught at Berkeley and Yale and Columbia and, during the war, was deputy director of war information. He wrote a dozen books and, one guesses, a dozen hundred articles and essays.

His informal reputation, among intimates, lay in his founding of a tiny supper-seminar called, at first, the Chaos Club, latterly The Roundtable. It was, for its dozen members and periodic guests, quite unique: the chairman occupied his place not merely because he had founded the little club but because of his indisputable talent as a host and the sheer, palpable joy he took from purposive thought, well expressed. He was curious, emphatic, resourceful. The club's members were (are) mostly Jewish intellectuals, most of whom, like the chairman, had felt the disillusion of contemporary liberalism. Perhaps the participants were selected after Leo had ascertained that they were men of learning and courtesy who would enjoy and profit from one another's company. Perhaps they developed these traits under Leo the Enforcer.

A few months ago Leo Rosten fell ill. As two or three of the scheduled meetings rolled by in his absence the aching question assailed the members: Is it possible to prolong the life of The Roundtable without the presence of its founder? One time, a month ago, he appeared for the first time in two or three months, and hope, even among neoconservatives, springs eternal. When he died, at 88 on February 19, his friends felt that finality that comes when quite irreplaceable people die. The stoic custom is to chant that the king is dead, long live the king. In Leo Rosten's case, the incantation would pass spuriously through sullen and unbelieving lips—it was chutzpah to assume there was a clone about, waiting to step into that hallowed chair. —WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Bill:

For longer than I care to think about I've witnessed your use of "Liberal" and "Conservative."

Allow me to ask you, What's Liberal about:

—Being profligate with other people's money?

—Intruding energetically into other people's lives?

—Working to destroy the moral fiber of this once great nation?

Again, What's Conservative about:

—Being prudent in the use of other people's money?

—Working to have people lead independent lives based upon personal responsibility?

—Nurturing a society based upon God-fearing moral strength?

So-called Liberals have an edge in the attractiveness of their name compared to Conservatives. I'm confident that with your wordsmithing abilities, if you put your mind to it, you could create terms more faithful to the beliefs of the two camps. Profligate and Prudent don't cut it. Neither do Wastrel and Worker. As a wordsmith I quickly run up on a shoal. I have to leave it to you to do this task that really should get done.

Dick Koenig
Lakebay, Wash.

Dear Mr. Koenig: The trouble is, it doesn't work that way. Definitions follow usage. The meaning of liberalism of course has changed. In his book on congressional government, Professor Woodrow Wilson said that liberalism was the history of man's efforts to constrain the powers of the state. The exception to the rule, above, is when a new

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

word is coined (example: tycoon) that seems to fill a niche not theretofore filled. The best service to be rendered the term "conservative" is to associate it with the highest ideals. But also to reject deformities. The process of exclusion is often the most reliable means of defining. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am currently reading, and greatly enjoying, your latest book, *Buckley: The Right Word*.

Perhaps nothing illustrates the fallibility of mechanisms a) through e) on page 184 better than the first three words of line six, page 207. *Requiescat in pacem*? Really?

Yours sincerely,
Joseph McEvoy
Medicinae Doctor
San Clemente, Calif.

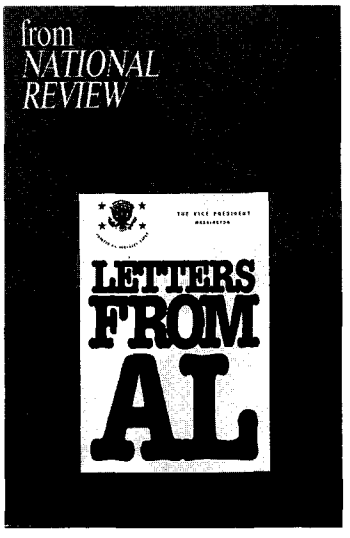
Dear Doc McEvoy: My mortification requires me to republish what I wrote (in this space) as it appears on page 184, after a letter rebuking me for confusing *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*. I wrote, "Come on. I am perfectly capable of typing out the sentence, 'When Washington delivered his Gettysburg address . . .' I mean, that kind of thing happens. When it does, it should be caught a) by me, when I reread my column; failing that b) by my office, if the column is on that day traveling to the syndicate via my office; c) by the syndicate before it sends it out to the newspapers; d) by the newspaper editor before sending it to be set; e) by the proofreader on reading proof. It is safer, when a failsafe mechanism as elaborate as this fails, to assume that all human systems are capable of concerted carelessness, than that the entire editorial structure of American journalism lapsed into historical or literary amnesia. Cordially, WFB."

And so it happened again with *Requiescat in pacem*, with the solecistic "m." Thanks for catching it. I will send you a copy of the next printing (if it materializes), with the correction made. Cordially, **—WFB**

Mexico, Recertified

It was a break he couldn't make,
Though generals are on the take
And judges open satchels full
Of Uncle's dough from folks with pull,
While cops recall the walking dead.
Now, who's that in the Lincoln bed?

—W. H. VON DREELE



The Only Possible Reason for "Four More Years"

Letters from Al, the *NR* Collection of Vice Presidential "Gorespondence"

"Letter from Al"—the hilarious *National Review* regular column featuring correspondence from Vice President Al Gore to his rain forest-dwelling pen pal "Rusty" (every other week he gets a too-funny and too-*true* rundown on Bill, Hillary, and the inner bumblings of the Clinton White House)—may be the *only* excuse for wishing "four more years" for you know who. Indeed, "Letter from Al" has proven such a hit that the first 25 Veep epistles are now available in a handsome, soft-cover collection: **Letters from Al**. It's funny, affordable (*only* $8.95, which covers *all* shipping and handling charges!), and available directly from *NR*. **Letters from Al** is something you'll definitely want to get for yourself, or as a gift for that special someone who appreciates unsurpassed political humor. Gore your funnybone—get your copies of **Letters from Al** *today*.

NATIONAL REVIEW BOOKS, 215 LEXINGTON AVE., NY, NY 10016

Yes, send me _____ copies of **Letters from Al** for only $8.95 (that's $5.95 plus $3.00 for shipping and handling, but only on the first book you order—purchase more than one copy and pay *no* additional shipping and handling charges!). I enclose payment of $ _____. Mail my copies to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

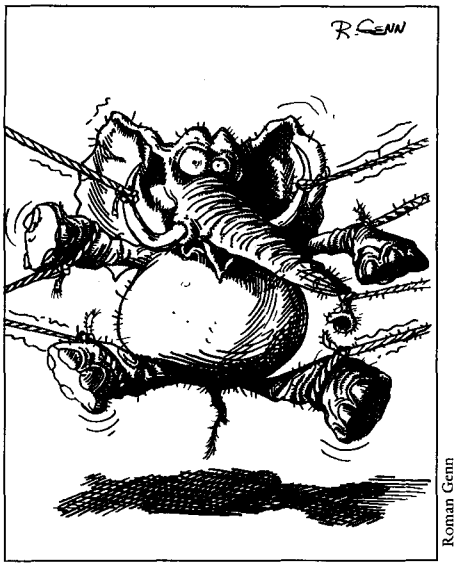
Make checks payable to National Review. NY residents add sales tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITAL SCENE

Out of Scandal, Reform?

ERIC FELTEN



Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SENATOR John McCain is remarkably sanguine when confronted with the notion that he's being used by President Clinton. With sunlight streaming through a nine-foot arched window, the Arizona Republican sits in his airy Capitol Hill office, the very picture of calm confidence. His legs are straight out, heels propped on the coffee table; his fingers are clasped behind his head, as if he were auditioning to be the cool-and-dry guy in a deodorant ad. McCain maintains this tremendous tableau of ease even when it is pointed out that, when it comes to campaign-finance reform, his Republican colleagues think he is letting the Slick One play him for a fool. "It's a marriage of convenience," McCain says, and laughs.

Clinton's alliance with McCain may be a marriage of sorts, but it isn't exactly wedded bliss. The President—for all his cheerleading on behalf of the campaign-finance bill authored by McCain and Wisconsin Democratic Sen. Russell Feingold—hasn't come close to buying McCain's silence on the White House fund-raising scandal. The white-haired maverick keeps televised vigil, urging Janet Reno to appoint a long-overdue independent counsel. McCain's tenacity is admirable, but, ironically, it only makes him more useful to Clinton. Endorsing campaign reform is one thing—a transparently diversionary tactic with slim hopes of distracting attention from the scandal at hand. But endorsing the reform agenda of *one's staunchest critic* can be played as real political penance.

"We're all aware of the President's problems," McCain avers. "It's just not important to me." What is important to the senator is reform based on two principles: first, reducing the amount of money in politics; second, leveling the playing field on which challengers meet incumbents. To get the reform he wants, McCain has accepted that he needs to use the peculiar talents of Bill Clinton. "This President has a great ability to be 'sincere.'" That shop-worn sincerity may make the whole thing seem a sham, but McCain is convinced his product needs the master salesman's touch. It's like a bishop inviting Elmer Gantry to the pulpit, explaining that, for all his faults, the man sure can save souls. Waxing pragmatic, McCain says, "I need every tool I can get."

Clinton himself may be useful, but it is the proliferation of scandal on which McCain is pinning his hopes. It is, after all, scandal that drove Clinton into the bosom of reform. And it is scandal, McCain is convinced, that will rally the electorate to his cause. "What's going to bring change?" McCain asks rhetorically. "Real scandal." The Democrats' '96 shenanigans should make for a sufficient rallying cry: There is the money raised from the Red Chinese (real scandal); there is the illegal White House direction of the Democratic National Committee's fund-raising and ad campaign (real scandal); there is the renting out of the Lincoln Bedroom (real scandal); there is the blatant and illegal use of the White House for fund-raisers (real scandal); and there is the fact that all this and more was personally orchestrated by a President as obsessed with milking his "friends" as Richard Nixon was with punishing his enemies (real scandal and a half).

But for obvious reasons, Democrats would rather that the scandals driving "reform" be seen as bipartisan. You see, it isn't the Clinton team that is corrupt, it's *the system*. Keeping their eyes on the system, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle and many other Democrats have glommed onto McCain–Feingold. It's the sort of political jujitsu at which the party is spectacularly adept: Senate Democrats aren't just trying to distract attention from the appalling spectacle of Democratic fund-raising, they hope to use the scandals to leverage themselves into a fund-raising advantage in the next election. *Toujours de l'audace!*

By contrast, only one Senate Republican has joined in McCain's cause: Fred Thompson. Advertised as leading man in trailers for the boffo Senate investigation into campaign fund-raising abuses, Thompson has tacked his name onto McCain–Feingold in order to rebuff accusations that his probe will be a kangaroo court for prosecuting the President.

One would think that the overwhelming Democratic enthusiasm for the legislation, and the concomitant paucity of GOP interest, would set off alarm bells *chez* McCain; but the senator is adamant that his is "not a Democrat or Republican bill."

To get the reform he wants, McCain has accepted that he needs to use the peculiar talents of Bill Clinton.

Tell that to Senator Mitch McConnell, who has fearlessly emerged as the scourge of campaign-finance reform. "This is a Democratic bill. The Democratic National Committee, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee,

Mr. Felten is a writer and a jazz musician in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE — From *The Washington Times*
4 FREE Issues of our National Weekly Edition!

Fed up with how the liberal media reports on issues important to you? From the network newscasts to the major dailies, it's always the same—a liberal "spin," "slant," or "spike" in everything they report. Now you have a choice: The National Weekly Edition of *The Washington Times*!

★ ★ ★ Special 1996 Election Issue ★ ★ ★

The Washington Times

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

They're back – and maybe to face the music

Hillary sought to hire Huang over Brown's objections

Top Clinton aides lead the charge to exit administration

Clinton scores with women's vote

Reports of bizarre sex rituals stun Episcopal church

Special Election Report / 10 - 23
- State-by-state results / 18 - 23
- Thank you, David, and good night / 41
- The madness of Mao Tse-tung / 42

Try it FREE!

No Risk . . . No Cost . . . No Obligation!

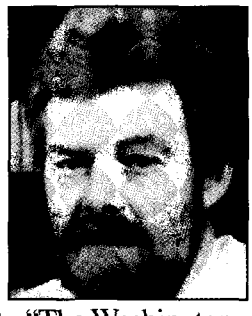
Here's all we ask, Give *The Washington Times* the old **"Kitchen Table Test."** Simply spread out any one of the four FREE issues you receive on your kitchen table and do a side-by-side comparison. **Decide for yourself!** You'll immediately see the striking difference between our National Weekly Edition and the newspaper you're now reading. *The Washington Times* is committed to arming you with the facts you'll need to track the next Congress!

Send for your 4 FREE ISSUES of the National Weekly Edition: Do the "Kitchen Table Test" with *The Washington Times* — FREE!

'The Washington Times is the definitive journal of the New American Revolution."
– *Tom Clancy*

"Even the mavens of the establishment media admit: The Washington Times gets the story first."
– *Rep. Dick Armey*

"If it weren't for the yeoman-like work of the Washington Times, Americans might still be believing the daily lies and distortions from the major electronic and print media."
–*Dr. Walter Williams*



"The Washington Times breaks the stories the liberal media refuse to touch."
– *L. Brent Bozell*

"The Washington Times is the first paper I reach for in the morning. . . essential reading for anyone who cares about what goes on in the world today."
– *Arianna Huffington*

"Living in San Francisco, I find the National Edition of the Washington Times an indispensable weekly summary of what's going on in the nation's capital."
– *William A. Rusher*

CALL 1-800-363-9118. Please Mention Express Code: "UHJOSZ"

Call today and order 4 weeks of The Washington Times National Edition free of charge! If you like it, you'll receive 48 more issues, for a total of 52, and pay only $59.95. If you decide not to subscribe, simply write "cancel" on your invoice and owe nothing at all. The 4 sample copies will be yours to keep!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee—they're all for it," says the Kentucky Republican. "There is nothing in this bill that is Republican." Which is to say, there is nothing that would block labor unions from repeating their performance of 1996, when they dumped $75 million of workers' dues into anti-Republican campaign ads disguised as "issue advocacy."

There is a section in McCain–Feingold that attempts to rein in the abuse of supposedly non-partisan "issue advocacy." The problem, though, is the Constitution. The Supreme Court ruled in *Buckley* v. *Valeo* that limiting the money people can spend to get their views out violates the First Amendment. That means that any effort to put limits on advertisements that claim to be about political ideas has to be done obliquely to get around the Constitution. Which means the legislation has to be so full of loopholes it can only stimulate campaign lawyers' inventiveness.

All one needs to know about McCain–Feingold's limits on "issue advocacy" is that the Democrats support them. Just as most Republicans will agree to no campaign-finance reform that fails to crack the union ad scam, Democrats will agree to no campaign-finance reform that hinders the unions. Since Democrats like the bill, it's a cinch that the "reform" would hinder labor not in the least. This alone promises that McCain–Feingold will be stillborn.

If McConnell can let McCain–Feingold take care of itself, he still has to block Thompson's hearings. That's right—block Thompson's hearings. At first Thompson had the Democrats trembling; they were striving to limit the funding for his probe for fear that it would devastate the Democratic establishment. Thompson wants a budget of more than $6 million for his investigation and hearings; Democrats want to keep the figure at less than a third of that. To win Democratic support for full funding, Thompson agreed that his hearings would look at the whole spectrum of campaign-finance abuses, with Republican transgressions sharing the spotlight.

Republican leadership worries that Thompson is selling out the party to further his presidential ambitions. McConnell worries that Democrats will try to compare legitimate Republican donors with the likes of John Huang. "I don't like normal, legal campaign activities being lumped in with illegal schemes," McConnell says. "One day we'll have a Chinese arms dealer before the committee and the next we'll have the head of the National Right to Life Committee, and the Democrats will attempt to imply that the two are somehow the same. Innocent people will be smeared." So McConnell, joined by Sen. Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, has taken the bold step of announcing that he is joining the Democrats' demand that Thompson's budget be strictly limited. (McCain's union with Clinton isn't the only marriage of convenience in the topsy-turvy world of campaign finance.)

The risk for McConnell is not that he won't succeed in blocking Thompson or sinking McCain–Feingold, but that he'll be vilified as the defender of the corrupt status quo. Cokie Roberts has already indulged herself by calling McConnell's efforts "stupid." And even the chilled-out John McCain starts to lose his cool at the thought of his project being thwarted. "If you don't like my bill, then what's your solution?" he demands.

In fact, McConnell does have a solution: Respect the First Amendment by nixing limits on fund-raising and spending. But won't that mean even more money will be spent on politics? Sure, says McConnell, who thinks that vigorous spending is merely a sign of vigorous political debate. The explosion in spending in the last election "shows there was a war out there about the future of the country," McConnell says.

And isn't that what politics is all about? □

Al Gore's Voter Mill

THOMAS McARDLE

NEW YORK

WHAT was strongly suspected on Capitol Hill during last year's campaign for President is now confirmed by congressional investigation: the Clinton Administration, in particular the Office of the Vice President, engineered a frantic effort to swear in as citizens as many aliens as it could before Election Day. And internal Administration memos that have now become public leave no doubt about the underlying purpose: securing as many new Democratic votes as possible.

To say that other concerns—like making sure violent criminals weren't awarded the highest privilege America has to offer—were deemed to be of secondary importance within the White House is gross understatement. Over 180,000 immigrants were awarded citizenship and given the right to vote without their criminal records' being checked. Undoubtedly, thousands of them were convicted felons. Indeed, more than 71,000 aliens whose histories *were* checked had arrest records—almost 11,000 of them for felonies—but were made citizens anyway. The Justice Department is now checking how many of those were *convicted* for felonies, in which case an attempt may be made to revoke their citizenship—but that won't be easy: it happened only twenty times in 1995, after months of bureaucratic work.

The involvement of Vice President Gore's staff in this operation, which is very clear from their own memoranda, may make Gore wish he could trade in his troubles for President Clinton's Lincoln Bedroom frolics by the time the 2000 campaign arrives.

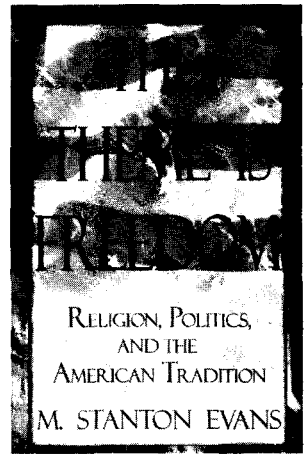
The National Performance Review was the agency set up supposedly to allow the Vice President to "re-invent government." How odd that the Immigration and Naturalization Service should become the top candidate for an efficiency overhaul. One March 1996 memo to President Clinton from Doug Farbrother, a top NPR staffer, notes that Clinton "asked us to expedite the naturalization of nearly a million legal aliens who have applied to become citizens." The memo adds that the Immigration and Naturalization Service "warns that if we are too aggressive at removing the roadblocks to success, we might be publicly criticized for running a pro-Democrat voter mill and even risk having Congress stop us."

The first of several "controversial actions" on which the memo then gives the pros and cons for the President's consideration comes under the heading, "Lower the standards for citizenship"—a heading dropped from revised versions of the memo. It says, "The basic standards are in law—years of residency,

Mr. McArdle is a reporter for Investor's Business Daily.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is Religion Under Attack at Your School?



Bring the Message of Faith and Freedom to Your Fellow Students

M. Stanton Evans...

Coming to a Campus Near You

March 17	**Lenawee Christian High School,** *Michigan*
April 2	**Penn State University,** *Pennsylvania*
April 7	**Huntington College,** *Indiana*
April 9	**Dickinson Law,** *Pennsylvania*
April 12	**Young America's Foundation's Regional Conference,** *Connecticut*
April 15	**Clearwater Christian,** *Florida*
April 16	**St. Louis University,** *Missouri*
April 17	**Westminster Christian Academy,** *Missouri*
April 21	**S.E. Missouri State University,** *Missouri*

Religious faith is under attack on America's campuses. Students are taught that religion is anti-intellectual and inimical to personal freedom, that the Bill of Rights created a "wall of separation" between religion and our public institutions, and that our liberties stem from secular doctrines.

M. Stanton Evans' book, *The Theme Is Freedom*, challenges the anti-religious concepts that liberal academia imposes on students. Now, Young America's Foundation brings the message of faith and freedom to America's students through a national lecture tour by Mr. Evans and by making his book available to students at a discounted price.

Mr. Evans' speaking tour includes recent visits to Yale University, George Washington University, and student conferences in Richmond, Virginia and Washington, D.C. His lectures have been broadcast by C-SPAN numerous times.

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

110 Elden Street
Herndon, Virginia 20170
email: yaf@yaf.org
website: www.yaf.org

For more information on the **M. Stanton Evans Lecture Tour**, to order ***The Theme Is Freedom***, or for additional information about **Young America's Foundation**, call **1-800-292-9231**.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

basic knowledge of English and Civics, and good moral character—and we wouldn't change those. But INS adjudicators have broad latitude to interpret those standards and decide who meets them. INS management has *already begun* training new adjudicators, and 're-educating' the older ones, to be more liberal."

The Farbrother memo's "quick solution" was "to delegate to the senior INS managers in . . . five cities broad authority to waive headquarters rules." That happened, and much more.

The director of the Fresno INS office, for instance, in a letter to a San Francisco labor-union president, wrote that "the INS has been told to naturalize everyone who filed [for citizenship] prior to April 1, 1996, in time for them to register to vote in the November election."

In order to "get the results the Vice President wants," Farbrother asked INS Deputy Commissioner Chris Sale to sign or have INS Commissioner Doris Meissner sign an order to "waive INS rules and regulations" for the agency's district directors. Sale then gave "full authority to waive, suspend, or deviate from [Department of Justice] and INS non-statutory policies, regulations, and procedures" as long as laws were not broken.

On March 26, Mrs. Meissner increased Citizenship USA funding by 20 per cent, giving district directors "full authority over these funds" as well as "full authority to determine the most appropriate, expedient methods" in hiring new employees. At the same time, production goals were increased 40 per cent, to 814,000, for April–September 1996.

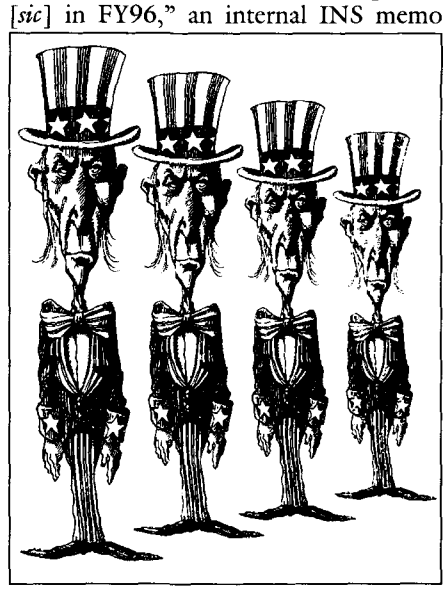
Two days later, however, Farbrother still wasn't satisfied; he complained in a memo to Gore that "unless we blast INS headquarters loose from their grip on the frontline managers, we are going to have way too many people still waiting for citizenship in November. I can't make Doris Meissner delegate broad authority to her field managers. Can you?"

On March 29, Farbrother asked if he could replace Sale: "Rather than having me appear to be working against Doris, put me to work for her. Move Chris Sale into another job (like Deputy Director for Programs at the NPR) and make me the INS Deputy Commissioner. From there, I could do more, faster."

In the same memo, Farbrother again touches on how the Administration can cover its political tracks: "To blunt any charge that we are running a citizenship/Clinton voter mill, I am working with the FBI to find a way to tighten up the ridiculously loose fingerprint check system . . . A breakthrough here will look good to the anti-alien lobby."

Instead of a breakthrough, the Administration now has to deal with an INS clerk in Los Angeles charging that amidst all the Citizenship USA fracas, between four thousand and six thousand fingerprint cards were discarded instead of being given to the FBI. The INS says the cards were smudged and unreadable.

Meanwhile, the White House had been pressuring the INS to send every new citizen a congratulatory letter from President Clinton—right in time for the 1996 campaign. "The Commissioner's goal is to naturalize 1.2 million person [*sic*] in FY96," an internal INS memo



Roman Genn

from September 1995 notes, adding, "And as you know, the White House is rather insistant [*sic*] that the Clinton letter be distributed to each new citizen. I do not think any of us want to be caught short."

Even the INS's huge backlog of over a million applicants may be politically engineered by the agency's own aggressive "outreach program." In Chicago, for example, 60 per cent of citizenship applications come from "community-based organizations" encouraged by the INS to bring in applicants. In other major cities, similarly high percentages of requests come from such groups. So the INS has been trying to get rid of a "backlog" it largely produced itself.

In a letter to the editor regarding my July 1, 1996, NATIONAL REVIEW article charging that Gore's staff shifted personnel from the Internal Revenue Service and other federal agencies to speed up Citizenship USA, Commissioner Meissner charges that I was "simply wrong." But an April 4, 1996, memo from another top NPR staffer, Elaine C. Kamarck, to Gore says, "So far IRS in San Francisco, [the Department of Energy] in Illinois and Los Angeles, [the Social Security Administration] in New York have offered federal employees as details, either on a full time or on an overtime basis."

In the same memo, Miss Kamarck tellingly added: "Only by working 7 days a week and longer hours can we hope to make a significant enough dent in the backlog that it will show up *when it matters*" (emphasis added).

Documents show that in March 1996, Farbrother and his NPR colleague Laurie Lyons began traveling to INS offices around the country to speed up naturalization

"The President is sick of this and wants action," Elaine Kamarck complained in a March 21, 1996, memo to Farbrother. "If nothing moves today we'll have to take some pretty drastic measures."

Farbrother replied: "I favor drastic measures . . . If we don't get what we need, I will call for heavy artillery."

It was only after the election that checking criminal records became a greater priority than swearing in new voters. In early December, the INS stopped pushing through applications even when it didn't hear back from the FBI fingerprint division after 120 days.

"We were fighting for this before the election, and they said we were crazy," fumed Rep. Bill Zeliff (R., N.H.), who headed the House probe of Citizenship USA, the day the stricter policy became public. "And now—it's like going to church—they've got religion."

Obviously the new citizens didn't make the difference in last year's presidential stakes, but they may have been the deciding factor in a close race like that of the colorful Rep. Bob Dornan in immigrant-rich Orange County, California. Dornan had a claim on being Clinton's most virulent critic in Congress.

Now the Department of Justice is conducting a review of over a million cases of citizenship being granted. "Clearly the system was broken," admitted Justice spokesman Carole Florman. But what is also clear is that Al Gore and his people broke it, apparently to get votes. Will that break Al Gore's chances in the year 2000? Further congressional probing is on the way. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AND YOU CALL YOURSELF A CONSERVATIVE!

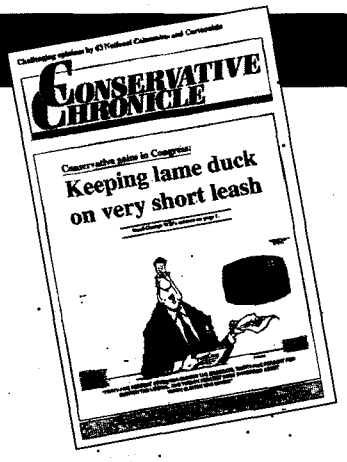
Real conservatives don't need dozens of magazines and newspapers to keep up with their favorite columnists and cartoonists!

For 12 years now, smart conservatives have turned to the CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE as their ONE SOURCE for opinions on the hot issues of the day. Our pages are packed with the best conservative columnists and cartoonists in the nation. Like William F. Buckley, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., Pat Buchanan, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Linda Bowles, Mona Charen, William Rusher, Thomas Sowell, Tony Snow, and **FIFTY-TWO MORE Right Thinking syndicated columnists and cartoonists in every weekly issue.**

Join the truly informed and see what you've been missing.

Special Introductory Offer

20 ISSUES - ONLY $16.95



To order:

- **Call Toll Free**
- **Mail Coupon**
- **Fax: 515-456-2587**

Visit our Website: http://www.ConservativeChronicle.com

Do the right thing. Order today.

Call toll-free **1-800-888-3039**

HNRA97

CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE

BOX 37077 • BOONE, IOWA 50037-0077

☐ Send an Introductory Offer of 20 issues for only $16.95

☐ Send a 1-year subscription (52 weekly issues) for $45.00

Foreign: $30.00-20 weeks; $80.00-52 weeks (US Currency)

☐ Check enclosed
☐ Bill Me
☐ VISA
☐ MasterCard

Name _____

Address _____ Card # _____

_____ Apt. _____ _____

City _____ _____

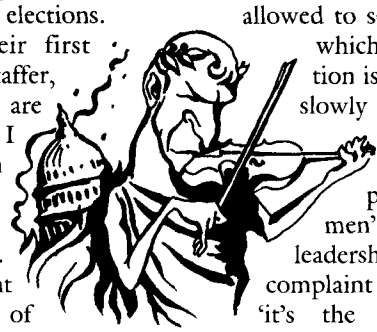
State _____ Zip _____ Exp. _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BREAD & CIRCUSES

IN the first week of March, Members of Congress returned to town to vote on non-binding resolutions. They supported the posting of the Ten Commandments in courthouses, thanked Warren Christopher for his fine service as Secretary of State, and congratulated the people of Guatemala on successful negotiations to establish a peace process—oh, yes, and the people of Nicaragua on the success of their elections.

Two months into their first session, explained a staffer, the frustrated freshmen are wondering: "When can I vote on something I can be proud of?"



Not for some time yet. Forget Nicaragua. Republican voters might well question the success of their own elections when they learn that the GOP-controlled Congress passed a tax hike in late February.

The bill in question—the Airport and Airway Trust Fund Tax Reinstatement Act of 1997—passed over the opposition of conservative anti-tax groups who wanted an offsetting tax cut. In a letter to Speaker Gingrich, the American Conservative Union (ACU) asked: "Do you really want the 105th Congress's first substantive victory to be the passage of a $2.7-billion tax increase?"

"Yes," answered the leadership when it rebuffed Tennessee Congressman Van Hilleary's attempt to modify the bill by adding a temporary repeal of the 4.3-cent-per-gallon gas tax to offset the airport tax hike. The ACU then warned that if Congress failed to make the tax reinstatement revenue-neutral, "many conservatives are going to wonder—and rightly—what's the difference between their leaders and the liberals?"

Conservative Republicans in Congress already wonder that. When supporters ask one conservative sophomore what the GOP is doing, he is at a loss: "What am I supposed to say? That 'we're busy sandpapering the President's agenda'?"

Majority Leader Dick Armey recently sought to fill the vacuum with a memo to his colleagues announcing that it was "time to get moving on the 105th agenda," and encouraging them "to make sure the American public knows what we are doing." But in three pages the memo mentioned 25 GOP initiatives —from public housing through tax relief to judicial activism. "An agenda that's everything is nothing," the dismayed sophomore pointed out.

Also, committee chairmen have been allowed to set their own agendas, which means that legislation is bound to move more slowly this year. "In the last Congress, chairmen needed the Speaker's permission to use the men's room, and now the leadership's answer to any complaint about the agenda is, 'it's the chairman's prerogative,'" explained a leadership aide. But conservative members point out that they can't explain to their constituents a GOP agenda that spans every committee in the House. Arizona's John Shadegg argues that the GOP conference needs to promote three or four initiatives that differentiate the party from Bill Clinton and "fight for them—win, lose, or draw."

Yet one veteran conservative staffer doubts that some Republicans want to do any fighting at all: "There's a complacency about '98. The mood seems to be, 'All we have to do is look reasonable and moderate.'"

The problem is compounded by the Speaker's predicament. The Washington media are full of reports that the GOP leadership is preoccupied with the succession. *The Hill* newspaper describes Gingrich's "tenuous hold on power." The *National Journal* proclaims that the Speaker "has lost much of his effectiveness, and any of several ticking political time bombs could finish him off." The speculation about how long Gingrich can hold on (*The New Republic* reveals a betting pool among junior staffers) contributes to the disarray in GOP ranks.

Those who argued a few months ago against Gingrich's temporarily stepping aside did so because they could not imagine how the House GOP could function without Gingrich's rhetorical skills, strategic vision, and unifying leadership. But the 105th Congress lacks all three. Even Gingrich complains in leadership meetings—about complaints from the conference about the lack of leadership.

Maybe Republicans should pass another resolution. Resolved: We will stop complaining about the lack of leadership and adopt four top conservative agenda items that will remind voters why they elected us in the first place.

But it would probably be non-binding.

THE admission by Ron Fitzsimmons of the National Coalition of Abortion Providers that pro-choicers had lied during the debate over last year's bill to ban partial-birth abortions has caused consternation on Capitol Hill. Charles Cook reports in a *Roll Call* column that congressional Democrats have been "seething for some time, feeling that they were set up by the pro-choice community." In fact the truth —that thousands of these abortions are routinely performed in the fifth and sixth months of pregnancy when there is no threat to the mother's health—was so widely available during the debate that any Member who opposed the ban had to have been set up willingly. But they now have an escape hatch: they can attribute their vote to deception by the abortion lobby.

Abortion politics is simpler on Pennsylvania Ave. President Clinton adopted Mr. Fitzsimmons's deceptive arguments when he vetoed the ban—and he continues to oppose it. Routine practice for this White House: The President has his lie and he is sticking to it.

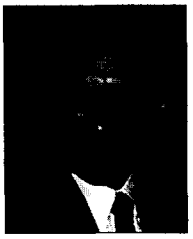
ON last issue's contents page readers were told that I would be introducing "the most effective conservative in Washington." In fact, I pulled my column to make way for a late-breaking political story elsewhere in *NR*, leaving many people wondering just who this person was. Given the conspicuous lack of recent conservative victories (see above), a surprising number of people modestly asked whether the column had been about them. Others wondered what they might do to earn the accolade. The misplaced self-satisfaction is worrisome, but aspirants are welcome. Let the competition begin. —KATE O'BEIRNE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

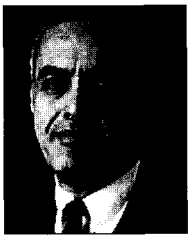
FULL STEAM AHEAD FOR ALASKA CRUISE

Sales Hit Flank Speed ... Over 180 Staterooms Reserved ... Record Calls to Cruise Hotline ...* Ryndam *"Filling Up," Agents Warn Against Delaying Decision to Book ... Call 1-800-246-9594 to Get Your* NR *Alaska Cruise Kit (and* FREE *Alaska Cruise Video)!

William F. Buckley Jr.


Milton Friedman

Robert Bork


Robert Novak

Gary Bauer

Dan Lungren

John O'Sullivan

Kate O'Beirne

Rick Brookhiser

Pat Sajak

BY ED SKIMO
National Review Alaska Cruise Correspondent

(New York, March 4): Orders for ***National Review***'s spectacular ***1997 Alaska Cruise*** are "pouring in," reports Publisher Ed Capano, who now confidently predicts that the magazine's fourth annual "Right Cruise" will be "*NR*'s best yet."

Over 180 cabins have already been booked on the ***National Review 1997 Alaska Cruise***, scheduled to hit the glorious waterways of the "Land of the Midnight Sun" August 10—17. And with the cruise industry now entering its "peak booking season," travel agents report that each day is bringing another handful of reservations for this special voyage aboard Holland America's award-winning MS *Ryndam*.

In a new development, interested subscribers—who continue to flood *NR*'s Alaska Cruise Information Hotline with calls—will now also receive a free 30-minute Holland America Alaska Cruise video. "A picture is worth a thousand words, and this video," says Capano, "will afford our subscribers a wonderful preview of the awesome sights and experiences awaiting them on the *Ryndam*."

The ***National Review 1997 Alaska Cruise***, departing from Seward, will sail majestic Glacier Bay National Park and College and Harriman Fjords, visit the beautiful ports of Sitka, Juneau, and Ketchikan, and glide down the haunting Inside Passage before arriving in cosmopolitan Vancouver.

But in addition to Alaska's unrivaled sights, *National Review* travelers will enjoy the company of conservatism's brightest stars: Bill Buckley, *NR* colleagues John O'Sullivan, Kate O'Berine, and Rick Brookhiser, and Judge Robert Bork, Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman, columnist Robert Novak, social issue policy expert Gary Bauer, California Attorney General Dan Lungren, and Hollywood conservative Pat Sajak.

All *NR* editors and special guests—and subscribers—will participate in six exclusive policy and politics seminars, *and* enjoy three cocktail receptions and two late-night pool-side "smokers" (featuring classic H. Upmann cigars and top-shelf cognac). "We're *also* arranging for *NR* passengers to dine with editors and special guests," says Capano.

In addition to the *Ryndam*'s pampering service, superior cuisine, spacious and luxurious staterooms, exciting array of shore excursions, and wonderful night-life activities, *NR* travelers will also receive a free *National Review* hooded sweatshirt, plus a $25 ship-board credit ("I plan to use mine for a side-trip in Sitka," says Capano).

Prices for this affordable, once-in-a-lifetime cruise start at a *low* $2,194 per person (which covers accommodations, all meals, complimentary 24-hour room service, gratuities, taxes, port fees, transfers, and admission to and participation in all *NR* seminars and social events), and couples can save up to $900 off "catalogue" rates.

Also available exclusively to *NR* passengers is an array of expert-led three- to seven-day pre- and post-cruise tours of "inland" Alaska and Vancouver—at *rock bottom* prices! They're your special opportunity to see Denali National Park, Mount McKinley, the historic towns of Nome and Fairbanks, plus much more in this wonderful land considered Nature's Masterpiece.

Don't miss out on this incredible cruise. Call the *National Review* Alaska Cruise Hotline at 1-800-246-9594 *today* to receive your *NR* cruise information kit– and your *free* Holland America Alaska video.

Until next time, this has been Ed Skimo, *National Review* Alaska Cruise Correspondent, reporting.

Don't Delay: Call National Review's Cruise Information Hotline at 1-800-246-9594

Peachtree Travel Management, Inc.

THE CRUISE AUTHORITY

H. UPMANN 1844

Holland America Line
A TRADITION OF EXCELLENCE®

Offer in $US, per person, double occupancy. Rates include all port charges, taxes, PFC, gratuities, and admittance to all National Review *functions. Airfare is additional. Space is subject to availability, categories are on a first come, first served basis. Guests in attendance subject to change without notice. Holland America's* Ryndam *is of Netherland Antilles, Bahamas registry.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE SCENE

Dilemmas after Hebron

ZE'EV SCHIFF

Roman Genn

JERUSALEM

PRIME Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Washington visit last month was generally deemed a success. He came to the meeting with President Clinton armed with an agreement on Hebron reached at long last between Israel and the Palestinians. The Arab part of the old city had been handed over to the Palestinian authorities, and the predicted riots had not materialized. In Washington there was talk of continued negotiations with Syria. President Clinton and his guest were pleased. But in Israel no warm welcome awaited Netanyahu upon his return. Quite the contrary.

Netanyahu's political situation is by no means comfortable. As he advances in the peace process, even with rather measured steps, his situation within his own party and his broader coalition is becoming increasingly complicated. When the Hebron agreement was passed, Science Minister Benjamin Begin resigned and became a vociferous critic of Netanyahu. There is another severe critic in the person of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Within the coalition an opposition group has emerged. Its 17 Knesset members include Ehud Olmert, the mayor of Jerusalem. The group predictably has the support of the settlers and of the National Religious Party.

The opposition group says that Netanyahu is defying Likud's principles and the promises Likud made to the public on the eve of the May 1996 election. Now the group has practically given Netanyahu an ultimatum: if he does not lift the ban on building in greater Jerusalem—and especially on the big housing project at Har Homa, located south of the city, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem—it will not back the government in the Knesset. Which amounts to a threat to overthrow the government. The dissidents maintain that Israel is free to ignore agreements with the Palestinians and that Israel alone is in a position to decide where to build in greater Jerusalem.

Complications do not end there, because the Palestinians have been declaring that if Israel carries out the plan to build at Har Homa, serious riots can be expected, like the ones last September after the opening of the Temple Mount tunnel. It should be pointed out that the Har Homa project is based on a plan ratified by the Labour government of Yitzhak Rabin. The lands involved were expropriated mainly from Jews, but also from Arabs. The Palestinians also claim that even though what is to be built is a housing project, its purpose is essentially the control of Jerusalem and its isolation from areas inhabited by Arabs. They claim that Israel is attempting to create a *fait accompli* before Jerusalem's future is negotiated.

This affair shows that the Hebron agreement is but one hurdle the parties had to overcome and that they can expect more arduous challenges as they continue on the road to peace, before they even reach the negotiations on the final settlement.

The question is therefore being asked in Israel whether, under these circumstances, it would not have been better to change the sequence fixed by the Oslo accords. Why not step up the negotiations on the final accord, instead of tackling crisis after crisis, wearing out the two parties and putting the entire peace at risk? Why not get down, here and now, to the big issues awaiting Israel and the Palestinians at the final stage of the negotiations—issues such as borders, settlements, security arrangements, and the future of Jerusalem?

What complicates matters is the need to work on several fronts simultaneously—and not just the Palestinian issue, which is tough enough. Netanyahu must make up his mind on how to renew negotiations with the Syrians. These negotiations were interrupted in March of 1996 by the Shimon Peres government when Israel was faced with a wave of extremely violent Hamas suicide terrorism. The Syrians refused to condemn these acts and actually granted asylum to a number of Hamas leaders. Now Syria's Hafez al-Assad claims that the negotiations should reopen precisely where they were when interrupted and that Israel must honor the commitments undertaken by Rabin and Peres. Assad claims that Rabin had given the Americans his commitment that he was prepared to withdraw from the Golan Heights and retreat to the borders that existed before the Six-Day War.

As Netanyahu advances in the peace process, his situation within his party and coalition is becoming increasingly complicated.

Netanyahu rejects this out of hand. He declares that he is prepared to honor agreements which a preceding government *signed*, like Oslo. But he is not aware of a signed Israeli commitment to

Mr. Schiff is defense editor of the newspaper Ha'aretz.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Syrians. A certain understanding reached between Israel and Syria, under the aegis of the Americans, on principles of future security arrangements on the Golan Heights, is unsigned and consequently not binding (indeed, it is called a "non-paper"). Former Secretary of State Warren Christopher admitted that in the eyes of international law Netanyahu's claim is not unfounded.

Therefore it is even more difficult now to find a formula that would allow Israel and Syria to resume talks. Even if a vaguely accommodating formula is found, there is no guarantee that the talks will not break down after one or two meetings. This could be more dangerous than the present deadlock. The differences between the parties are quite clear: Syria demands that all Israeli settlements be evacuated and the entire Golan Heights be handed over; Israel wants the negotiations to focus not on the territorial issue but on what the security arrangements and the character of relations between the two countries (known as "normalization") will be after the withdrawal. The Syrians obviously want minimal security arrangements and lower-level normalization. A kind of cold peace. Netanyahu, on the other hand, is talking about a territorial compromise on the Golan Heights and is proposing to begin the process with security arrangements in Lebanon.

WE must keep in mind that the extended interruption in the talks has already created military tension between Israel and Syria. Last fall, for the first time since the 1991 Madrid conference, the two countries moved forces and took alert measures. They faced the immediate prospect of war. The tension relaxed after a few weeks, though a disquieting factor still lurks in the background, one which Israel is taking very seriously. Along the border with Lebanon, there is an ongoing war with the fundamentalist guerrilla organization Hezbollah. Syria, which virtually controls Lebanon, has a hand in this war.

Furthermore, Syria is collaborating with Iran to supply Hezbollah with military equipment. The matériel arrives via the Damascus airport and is then delivered to Hezbollah. Although Syria controls this supply of arms, the basic reality is that Iran is using an agent to conduct a long-range guerrilla war against Israel (and the peace process) without risk to itself or its population. Israel's military responses against the Syrian army stationed in Lebanon have been cautious, not only in order to avoid an uncontrolled deterioration into total war with Syria, but also because Israel still considers Syria a potential partner in a future peace treaty. Such an agreement would seriously hamper Iran's proxy war.

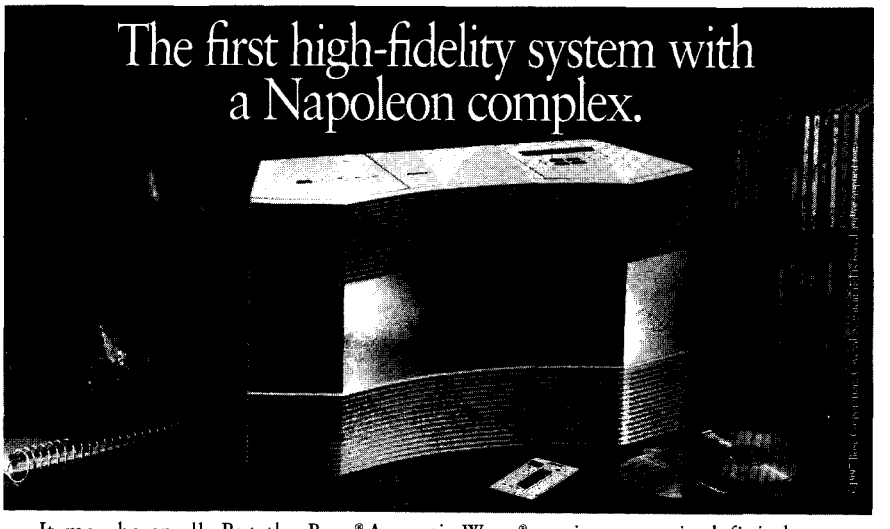
This issue has recently come up in Israel, though indirectly. Public debate is focused anew on whether it is time for Israel to withdraw unilaterally from south Lebanon. Those in favor believe that withdrawal would deprive Syria of a trump card—that pressure on Israel would be ended because of the resulting fall in the number of casualties. Those who oppose a unilateral withdrawal claim that it would amount to taking flight, and with no guarantee that the guerrilla warfare would not persist both along the border and against settlements in Israeli territory proper—in Galilee, for example. This would not be up to Hezbollah alone. Teheran would have a leading say in the matter.

Iran has been harassing Israel far beyond its activities with Hezbollah in Lebanon. That was one of the items Netanyahu raised with both President Clinton and William Cohen, the new Defense Secretary. It appears that the problem stretches as far as Moscow. Israel asserts that since Yevgeny Primakov became foreign minister, Russia has been trying to cultivate good relations with Iran. Had these been limited to friendly diplomatic relations, Israel would not have been especially disconcerted. Reliable reports indicate, however, that these relations are focused on arms deals liable to pose a threat to the entire region.

In addition to the Russian sale of nuclear reactors, the negotiations involve such things as sub-systems of a 1,300-km-range missile. If it is concluded, the deal will constitute a blatant violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime, which Russia has signed. It is a direct threat against Israel, though not against Israel alone.

Russia's activity extends further. It is encouraging Iran to consolidate its axis with Syria and stretch it to include its rival, Iraq. Russia has also resumed negotiations on the sale of modern arms to Syria, despite Syria's considerable unpaid debts. Nor has Russia forsaken its efforts to lift the embargo on Iraq altogether and allow Saddam Hussein to reestablish his role in the Middle East and everywhere else. The Russian sale to

The first high-fidelity system with a Napoleon complex.



It may be small. But the Bose® Acoustic Wave® music system is definitely an overachiever. The unit features a compact disc player, an AM/FM radio, a handy remote control, and our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. And it produces a rich, natural sound quality comparable to audio systems costing thousands of dollars. We know that's hard to believe. So we're ready to prove it. Call or write now for our complimentary guide to this award-winning system. Because, like the system itself, it's available directly from Bose.

Call today. 1-800-898-BOSE, ext. A473.

Mr./Mrs./Ms. ( ) ( )

Name (Please Print) Daytime Telephone Evening Telephone

Address

City State Zip

Or mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. CDD-A473, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168.

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cyprus of modern ground-to-air missiles should also not be overlooked. What we have here is a comprehensive Russian regional enterprise. The Russian moves could well be meant to counterbalance American efforts to widen NATO, rather than being aimed specifically at fortifying Israel's enemies. Yet, from Israel's perspective, Moscow's motives don't matter. What matters most is, will these moves ultimately expose Israel to more serious threats? □

Funding Fraud

IRA MEHLMAN

Dennis Dittrich

LOS ANGELES

JOSEF Stalin once boasted that the capitalists would sell him the rope he would use to hang them. If Stalin had been a little shrewder, he would have applied for a government grant to pay for the rope.

That's what a California-based organization known as Hermandad Mexicana Nacional (Mexican National Brotherhood) has managed to do, to the tune of millions of taxpayer dollars. Line A of Hermandad's articles of incorporation, filed with the California Secretary of State in August 1985, states that "the specific and primary purpose" of the organization is "to provide non-profit, low-cost legal services to undocumented immigrant workers and their families and other low-income families."

In addition to being granted nonprofit, tax-exempt status, Hermandad has been the recipient of tens of millions of dollars in federal and state contracts. A review of Hermandad's annual IRS reports between 1988 and 1993 reveals that more than $20 million worth of contracts was directed their way by the California Department of Education. In 1991–92 alone, the organization received nearly $8 million in funding from the state.

According to Gabriel Cortina, a deputy superintendent for the California Department of Education, the money was largely federal funds that the state received to help pay for English classes for formerly illegal aliens who received amnesty under a 1986 law. An estimated 1.8 million of the 3.1 million aliens who were given amnesty live in California.

Hermandad would probably have continued to escape public scrutiny had it not wound up in the middle of the disputed congressional race between Loretta Sanchez and Bob Dornan in Orange County last November. Miss Sanchez, a Democrat, defeated the incumbent Dornan by a margin of just 979 votes.

Dornan cried foul and pointed a finger at Hermandad, alleging that it had registered noncitizens and even illegal aliens in the 46th congressional district. Moreover, Dornan's attorney, Michael Schroeder, claims the taxpayer-funded English and citizenship classes were being illegally used for political purposes. In addition to being taught verb conjugations and the fundamentals of the U.S. Constitution, students in Hermandad's classes were receiving political indoctrination and being registered to vote even if they didn't meet the legal requirements.

These government-funded classes also provided a springboard for the political career of Hermandad's executive director, Nativo Lopez, who won a seat on the Santa Ana school board in last November's election. Lopez has been a vocal advocate of turning the growing Hispanic population into a political force in California. His election to the school board and the election of a Latina to Congress from the Republican stronghold of Orange County were seen by Lopez and others as the first dividends of their effort to register voters.

Coming from Dornan, considered by many to be Congress's Dennis Rodman, accusations of vote fraud could be dismissed as "B-1 Bob" bluster. However, an investigation by the *Los Angeles Times* found that 30 per cent of a sample group of voters registered through Hermandad were noncitizens. Schroeder, who is also chairman of the California Republican Party, alleges that aliens were given completed voter-registration cards for their signatures, a practice that is clearly illegal. Of about 1,100 voter-registration forms that he has been given access to, Schroeder claims that 570 of them belonged to people who had not completed the citizenship process, and 102 to illegal aliens. An additional 11,000 voter-registration cards submitted by Hermandad in the 46th District remain to be examined.

Similar findings of registration irregularities are confirmed by the independent watchdog organization the Fair Elections Group, based in Torrance. According to the group's executive director, Karen Saranita, 95 per cent of the voters who registered through Hermandad requested absentee ballots, compared to a normal rate of about 20 per cent. Use of absentee ballots, explains Miss Saranita, makes it much more difficult to ensure that the person voting is actually the same person who registered to vote.

LIKE Claude Rains in *Casablanca*, federal and state officials have expressed shock at learning that Hermandad has been engaging in questionable activities. Aside from the forthright declaration in its articles of incorporation, the organization and its founder, Bert Corona, have a long and overt history of working on behalf of illegal aliens and a close association with the militantly irredentist Aztlan movement. Corona, in fact, publicly broke with the United Farmworkers Union leader, César Chavez, over Chavez's support for deporting illegal immigrants in the 1960s. Chavez believed that easy access to illegal-alien labor was undermining the union's ability to bargain on behalf of its members.

Corona has had some creative ideas about how to use government money to prepare would-be citizens for naturalization. In his 1994 memoirs, he wrote, "we took our students in large numbers to the

Mr. Mehlman is California media director of FAIR (the Federation for American Immigration Reform).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state capital in Sacramento and to Washington, D.C., to lobby for more amnesty classes. The time they spend lobbying is counted as part of their time in class. This is how they learn civics."

Hermandad also used some of its government funding to sponsor other lobbying excursions to Washington, so that illegal aliens could meet legislators face to face and register their views on pending legislation. During one such visit, relates Corona, a group of angry illegal immigrants confronted Ted Kennedy and forced him to back off his support for employer sanctions. "[U]ndocumented immigrants have learned a great deal about influencing the system," boasts Corona. "They have formed the nucleus of our efforts to influence national immigration policy."

None of these activities seemed to dissuade the state of California or the Federal Government from lavishing money on Hermandad. As recently as October 1995, the U.S. Department of Commerce approved a $390,000 grant to purchase and operate a computerized job bank, known as the Internet Mobile Job and Information Vehicle, in Santa Ana. The project is intended to make job information accessible to people in areas of high unemployment, in this case the Spanish-speaking population of Orange County.

Hermandad's successful application was one of 1,800 the Commerce Department received for the project. No specific assurances were sought by Commerce that Hermandad would screen out illegal-alien job seekers, who are legally barred from working in the United States, and none were offered. The grant proposal merely states the goal of facilitating "the full integration of Latinos into the social, political, and economic institutions of American life."

Hermandad has received tens of millions of dollars in federal and state contracts.

Steve Downs, the Commerce Department official in charge of the project, insists that there is no evidence that any of the money has been used to help illegal aliens find jobs. In deciding where to award grants, Downs explains, the Department of Commerce evaluates the plan for implementing a project, rather than the organization applying for the grant. Once a contract is awarded, the Department expects that the contractor will comply with all federal and state laws. "At any point that we discover that they are not complying with federal and state law, we withdraw funding," says Downs. And indeed, Hermandad's fortunes may finally be changing. Downs points out that Hermandad has received only a fraction of its current grant, because it has failed to find the matching private funds required by the contract.

Moreover, the publicity generated by the allegations of vote fraud, as well as a criminal investigation, has begun to affect the flow of new grants. On February 26, the California Department of Education, which has funneled tens of millions of dollars to Hermandad, announced that it was denying Hermandad's latest request for $2.1 million on the grounds that the organization did not submit an audit proving its financial solvency. This occurred on the same day that the House Oversight Committee decided to proceed with its investigation into the disputed Sanchez–Dornan election, which may eventually lead to the invalidation of the outcome. □

The thinking person's website.

Slate™ online magazine. It's what everyone is talking about off line. The editorial creation of journalist **Michael Kinsley,** Slate is media, politics, technology, high and low culture...all with a certain insouciant smirk that thinking people find compelling. Slate is, we dare say, the only place you'll have occasion to read the week's spin on everything from Jackie Chan's box office to Bill Clinton's Oval Office. So read what everyone's talking about. Log on to:

Slate™

www.slate.com

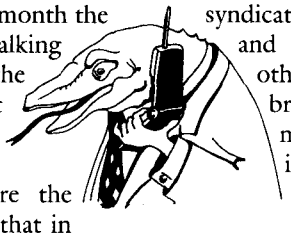
Slate is a registered trademark of Microsoft Corporation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GEKKO

THE President was absolutely right, by the way, when he said that the Lincoln bedroom was never for sale. In fact, you got it for free when you bought the Oval Office.

■ At the beginning of this month the bottom fishers we were talking about at the beginning of the year began to find out what the problem is with their investment technique: figuring out where the bottom is. You may recall that in January we talked to a couple of hedge-fund people who were going into Thai stocks on the theory that the smart thing to do in the new era is to buy the dips. The Thais, charming as always, obliged them. They were taking the cash that the brave foreigners were willing to put in and changing it into Singapore dollars, which the bottom fishers might have noticed were fetching unusually low interest rates as the safe harbor in the region looked safer and safer compared to its neighbors. Well, trading in the financial stocks was suspended on the first business day in March, which might make it a little difficult to come up with a valuation for those ever-challenging quarterly reports.



■ If the hedge funds' limited partners don't show the managers much sympathy, they might get a free lunch out of the bankers at Chase. That bank has gone through many changes since the days of David Rockefeller; but some traditions are still alive. For example, lending to corrupt and nasty foreign potentates. Readers will recall our interest in the activities of the last president but one of Ecuador, Mr. Abadala Bucaram, who called himself "El Loco." El Loco made it known to businessmen with flexible ethics that for all his nationalistic rhetoric, special arrangements could be made at a price. Pretty soon, like within weeks, the whole government got so busy figuring out what bribes could be charged for what services that normal business nearly ground to a halt. Although even in the best of times the place was hardly run like a Minnesota school board, the corruption led and inspired by El Loco was truly awesome.

You and I might be put off by this, but not the Chase Bank. Chase and a syndicate it led advanced El Loco and his people $300 million of other people's money as a bridge loan to tide the government over until a Eurobond issue could be successfully marketed. Now it seems that El Loco, who was deposed last month, took the greater part of that money before taking off for a well-earned rest in Panama. That's right—he just got a checkbook from the country's central bank and helped himself with both hands to a couple of hundred million dollars. I called around to get some of the puff pieces Chase had been putting out on Bucaram's economic plan a couple of months ago, but they seem curiously hard to find.

Now, I think the Salesman of the Year award goes to whoever puts together a successful marketing plan for that Ecuadorian Eurobond. Otherwise, it looks as if Chase has built a bridge to nowhere.

The least Bucaram could do is stash his money in Chase's Swiss office, though maybe under another name.

"Dear, you drive yourself too hard. You really must learn to take time to stop and spend the profits."

■ The bulls on platinum-group metals are finally having their day. Julian Robertson and his Tiger Management came out of the closet on their palladium position, whose value went from about $115 an ounce at the beginning of the year to over $150 by the beginning of this month. It's been just about a year since *Business Week* did a slighting story about Julian's ability to pick 'em. Once again, *Business Week* has shown its usefulness to the financial community as a contrary indicator. Subscribe now—and do the opposite of what they say.

While I liked the PGMs, I thought that the platinum price might ease off when the Russians announced their readiness to negotiate this year's export sales, and then move up gradually after that. Guess what? The Russians said they didn't have as much to sell as had been thought, and the gentle, long-term rise turned into a buying panic, particularly among the Japanese.

While the real story is about the Russian's stockpiles, they might also have a problem with their current production. That mostly comes out of a town above the Arctic Circle called Norilsk. Much of the original facility was built by slave labor in the Soviet days. Norilsk is by all accounts one of the worst places in the world to live. In recent decades, workers tolerated the literally Arctic cold, high winds, and Martian landscape because they could earn more than the average Soviet wage. Now the New Russian owners owe them about a quarter of a billion dollars in pay, and the workers don't really understand what the problem is. Personally, I would not like to be the member of management tasked with explaining to an angry mob of Siberian miners why they should work for nothing. In the Arctic winter. You can't threaten them with being sent to the camps. They were born in a camp.

It's visions like this that keep the platinum and palladium markets cooking. On the other hand, the notion that there may be a limit on the Russian resources ready to bail out the economy may have finally put a lid on the country's stock market. Word is that the oligarchy is looking for an oligarch to sacrifice to keep the people happy; the speculation was that it might be Prime Minister Chernomyrdin—in which case, his Gazprom empire may follow. But for the moment, Finance Minister Livshits is said to be the leading candidate for sacrificial offering. —JOHN DIZARD

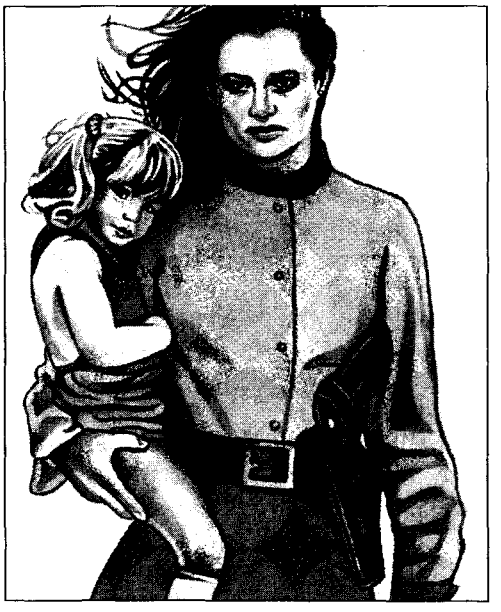
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Hip

The intellectual argument in favor of restrictive gun control is collapsing. So how come the political strength of its advocates is increasing?

DANIEL D. POLSBY

RECALL the triumphalism of gun-control activists as the 1996 election returns rolled in. You could float a battleship in it. Above all, there was President Clinton's easy return to office; but there was plenty to brag about on the undercard. Liberal Mary Landrieu had defeated gun-rights-friendly Woody Jenkins in their Senate race—in Louisiana, the "hunters' paradise," as the license plates say. Republican Al Salvi, strongly backed by the rank-and-file of the Illinois State Rifle Association, was skunked in his Senate bid by Democratic Rep. Dick Durbin, who, as he claimed victory on election night, gushed over America's most visible gun-control crusaders, Jim and Sarah Brady, who were seated next to his lectern. Elsewhere in Illinois, Republican Michael Flanagan, who had vanquished Dan Rostenkowski last time around and then gone on to oppose the assault-weapons ban, lost badly to the gun-hating son-in-law of a Chicago alderman. In Missouri, voters in the 9th District denied Harold Volkmer, among Democrats the most stalwart friend of the National Rifle Association's legislative agenda, his 11th term in the House. Dan Frisa, of New York's 4th District, was drubbed by Republican-turned-Democrat Carolyn McCarthy, in an election where Frisa's "Nay" on the assault-weapons bill was virtually the only issue. As this result transpired, the network newsreader I was listening to could barely contain his gloat. It seemed almost the last straw when the returns from California, after a lag of many days, indicated that B-1 Bob Dornan had also been retired to the world of political consultancy.



Once the dust had settled, the gun-rights crowd took stock and decided things weren't so bad after all. After all, the Jenkins and Dornan elections might have been stolen (and their results may yet be reversed). Flanagan and several of his classmates had been virtually accidental congressmen in the first place, elected in strongly Democratic districts in the tsunami of 1994. And many of the apparent disappointments did not represent net losses for the cause of gun rights. Durbin hates the idea of firearms in private hands, but no more so than Sen. Paul Simon, the man he succeeded. Republican Kenny Hulshof, who beat Volkmer on his second try, is at least as gun-friendly as his predecessor, and more conservative generally. Firearms-rights activists have been enjoying such consolations for the past four months. They're kidding themselves. Though they have had more than their share of state-level legislative successes, their side of the argument is losing the national debate, and losing badly.

In a democracy, public policy is tailored to what people believe, no matter what the facts might be. For weapons policy, the point is not the connection between guns and extreme violence, or between gun-control laws and the prevalence of guns, but rather how people *see* the connection. We know that many crimes, murder and robbery especially, are committed with guns—many more, both proportionately and absolutely, than in the Eisenhower decade. In recent years, the homicide-victimization rates for young males, especially young black males, have skyrocketed, with most of the increase attributable to firearms wounds. We also know that guns have been increasing their market share as a means of suicide.

But are these trends the byproduct of there simply being too many guns available to people? And would banning handguns or assault rifles reduce this availability and thereby drive down rates of murder and suicide? If your answer to these questions is "yes," then cheerleading for gun rights will look mighty like cheering for murder and suicide and opposing common decency. But "yes" is the wrong answer,

Mr. Polsby is Kirkland and Ellis professor of law at Northwestern University.

ILLUSTRATION BY BONNIE T. GARDNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at least without a load of qualifications. Firearms violence does not correlate with how many guns there are in a given population; it correlates with how they are distributed in that population—that is, who has them and for what purpose. Gun-control laws characteristically ignore that distinction, and usually aim only to limit the number of weapons in circulation. This is why their effects have usually been disappointing if not counterproductive. There is plenty of evidence to substantiate this case, and little to dislodge it. But who ever heard of evidence when the gun-control winds begin to blow?

Politicians of both parties have tended to play firearms issues as a straight interest-group bidding contest. The sources from which most people get their information—television networks and major newspapers, above all the *New York Times*—have done no better. They have chosen sides—and almost all the same side. They have helped the public to believe that private ownership of firearms, of handguns especially, is the major reason why America's homicide rate exceeds those of other industrialized nations. The case is closed so far as they are concerned, closed so completely that they have left a genuinely big firearms story all but uncovered. That story is that the so-called "instrumentality theory," which connects the prevalence of guns to high rates of death by violence, has virtually collapsed.

UNTIL the late 1960s the connection between firearms and violence was not much of a public issue, and certainly not a partisan one. American liberalism's greatest postwar figure, Hubert Humphrey, was a devoted shooter of game birds, but his views about guns were not limited to sport. He also believed something that in today's liberal circles would be received as in essence psychotic, namely that, in having institutionalized widespread private firearms ownership, our country had bought itself an insurance policy against tyrannical government.

But so far as the Democratic Left was concerned, the days of that sort of thinking were already numbered. The tocsin for the change was probably Ramsey Clark's *Crime in America*, published in 1970, which laid out what American liberal, and Democratic, thinking on virtually all crime questions would become. "Total casualties from civilian gunfire in this century exceed our military casualties in all the wars from the Revolution through Vietnam," Lyndon Johnson's attorney general intoned. "It is not hysteria that demands gun control; it is 8,900 murders, 12,000 suicides, 65,000 assaults, 99,000 robberies—all committed with guns in the single year of 1968. The toll will rise until we act." Yes; but act how? "If government is incapable of keeping guns from the potential criminal while permitting them to the law-abiding citizen, then government is inadequate to the times. The only alternative is to remove guns from the American scene."

The intellectual groundwork for Clark's dramatics had been laid two years before, by George Newton and Franklin Zimring, authors of the 1968 staff report of President Johnson's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, entitled *Firearms and Violence in American Life*. Newton and Zimring carefully traced the growth of gun sales in Detroit following a series of riots, and fitted an overall increase of firearms crimes to the general expansion of firearms possession. They repeated the exercise in eight widely separated American cities, with the same result: the proportion of guns used in violent transactions is a function of the overall gun-possession characteristics of a given population. Their most influential contribution may have been comparing violence in the United States with violence in England and Wales, something that ever since has been a stock element in the argument for suppressing firearms sales. England and Wales, which tightly restrict the private possession of handguns and other firearms, have among the lowest murder rates in the world, less than 1 in 100,000 of population for each of the last twenty years, compared to the American rate of 9 or 10 in 100,000, ten to twenty times worse. If one considered only gun murders, Newton and Zimring pointed out, America's record was forty times worse.

This is the outline for what is commonly known as the instrumentality theory of guns and violence. Its claim is not so much that guns "cause" crime as that they make the outcomes of whatever crimes there are going to be more deadly rather than less deadly. The claim has a basis in common sense. It is reasonable to think that a certain number of intentional killings would be unfeasible without a gun. And many killings develop out of a domestic brawl or an argument between neighbors and not a specific intention to kill. Murder resulted simply because a gun was handy; without a gun the offender would have used a chair or a knife, and his victim in all probability would have lived. In some number of cases, these intuitions are undoubtedly correct. The question is, How many? And how many offsetting cases are there, in which the presence of a gun averted trouble rather than making it worse?

Ramsey Clark's argument became the most influential framing of the firearms-and-crime problem of its time, and indeed it is influential still, nearly thirty years later. Swallowing it whole, the Federal Government announced a crusade against handguns in 1979. The Public Health Service articulated as its eventual objective the complete eradication of handguns in America, with a 25 per cent reduction in the national inventory by the year 2000. There promptly followed a veritable cascade of research papers, often subsidized or produced by the Centers for Disease Control ("gunshot wound" having now been deconstructed into a "disease"), which sought to document, in the panoply of disinterested science, the case against handguns. Many of these papers found weighty publishers, the *New England Journal of Medicine* among others, and most of them received wide publicity from the news media, above all from the *New York Times*, which has never made a secret, either on its opinion pages or in its news columns, of its abhorrence of handguns. And so it became a fixture of public discourse that "science knows" that a gun in the home is 43 times more likely to kill its owner or a family member than to kill an intruder, that guns have become "the new polio," a calamity which now accounts for more premature deaths of younger Americans than anything this side of AIDS. A rationally ignorant public, most of it two or three generations remote from rural life and daily familiarity with guns, went along. And here we are today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Almost from the beginning there were nagging anomalies in the instrumentality theory. In 1979, David Bordua, a University of Illinois sociologist, and his student Alan Lizotte published a study of Illinois counties that seemed to show that where guns were found in the greatest percentage of households, the rate of gun crimes was lower, and where they were found in the lowest percentage of households, the rate of gun crimes was higher. The Chicago Metropolitan Crime Survey replicated this result as recently as last year. And the international comparisons in their own terms raise serious questions. After all, even if one sets firearms murders (about 55 per cent of the total in this country) to one side, our domestic-murder rate is still seven or eight times that of England. What accounts for the difference here? Once the door is open for considering the rather substantial differences between the cultures and populations of the two countries, it is open also for asking whether those differences might explain some of the firearms murders. Surely not all those murders are instrumentality effects; some must be written down to other causes.

INDEED, the whole matter, fairly weighed, is much more complicated than the standard account supposes. There are firearms effects on both sides of the violence equation. An accumulation of survey research points to the conclusion that guns are used defensively and lawfully much more often than they are used in crimes—twice as often, according to a recent Police Foundation survey coauthored by Florida State University criminologist Gary Kleck and Duke University criminologist Philip Cook, who found at least a million and a half defensive uses per year. Guns do inflict wounds that tend to be much more medically dangerous than the wounds inflicted by knives, but as Kleck found, when guns are used, whether by criminals or by the law-abiding, they make confrontations much less likely to result in woundings in the first place.

But the anomalies run much deeper than that sort of cost accounting allows. After all, it is wrong to pretend that handguns or any other sorts of firearms are "more available" today than they were in prior generations. Thirty years ago, handguns, shotguns, rifles, and ammunition could be bought over the hardware-store counter almost anywhere in the country by almost any adult. Anyone, sight unseen, could mail-order guns and ammunition and have them delivered by the United States Postal Service, COD, a fact that anyone with some 1950s vintage *Popular Mechanics* magazines can corroborate. In fact, firearms have been *less* available since the Federal Firearms Act was passed thirty years ago, followed by the proliferation, at every level of government, of new restrictions and sometimes outright prohibitions on the legal possession of guns.

The availability of guns aside, if the instrumentality theory were going to hold anywhere, it should be in the home, because people spend more time there than anywhere else, and because guns are kept there more than they are kept anywhere else. It appears, moreover, that despite increasingly restrictive legislation, between 1980 and 1992 the national handgun stock increased by 40 per cent and the proportion of households in which a firearm is present has held at somewhere above 40 per cent. The instrumentality theory makes a distinct prediction about this state of affairs, namely that the interspousal homicide rate would increase considerably in that period. In fact it has not, but rather has been steady or falling throughout this period, according to a study by James Mercy and Linda Salzman in the *American Journal of Public Health*. We see basic confirmation of this trend, moreover, in the changes that have occurred in national statistics in the ratio of manslaughters to murders. The instrumentality theory predicts that impulsive killing should increase as a percentage of homicides as the handgun stock increases. This prediction has not been borne out. Table 304 in the *Statistical Abstract Data Book* for 1993 tells us that killings provoked in the course of arguments represented 40 per cent of reported homicides in 1980 and 32 per cent in 1991, which is a 20 per cent decline in this period.

Some of this decline is undoubtedly due to advances in emergency medicine, but it is unlikely that all of it is. In fact, there is an instrumentality-ironic twist to this trend which may not be readily apparent. All through this period, handguns, the most demonized of all classes of firearms, were displacing shotguns and rifles as the preferred tools of last resort in home security applications. When domestic gunfire breaks out, far better that it be with a handgun than with a long weapon, because the latter will inflict far more life-threatening wounds. Thus do domestic quarrels, which probably occur with a statistically constant frequency, become less deadly.

Chicago statistics, carefully kept and released annually by the Detective Bureau of the city's Police Department since 1965, bear witness to the same general drift. Over the course of the past thirty years there has been a striking trend away from homicides among relatives, romantic interests, step-relatives, in-laws, quasi-in-laws, neighbors, and friends. Domestic and acquaintance homicides accounted for nearly half of all killings in Chicago thirty years ago; recently they have been around 15 per cent of the total. Indeed, an interesting fact of record—which of course has never been published in either of Chicago's socially responsible, gun-control-favoring newspapers—is that the actual number of these sorts of killings per annum has diminished in thirty years, from 183 such killings in 1965 to 147 in 1994, which is more than proportionate to the city's population decline. To be sure, city murders have increased very dramatically—930 in 1994, compared to 395 in 1965. But every bit of that increase has been among "non-friend

"Instinctively the other kids knew this wasn't your average school bully."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acquaintances," strangers, or persons unknown. In other words, gang killings with illegal guns.

Though international comparison is a favorite device of instrumentality theorists, this artifice is usually kept in modest seclusion when the subject of suicide comes up. No doubt this is because some of the highest suicide rates in the world are found in countries, like Japan, Hungary, and Germany, that have some of the toughest and most effective prohibitions on civilian gun possession. And so the account of the suicide risk of privately held guns is usually given as Ramsey Clark gave it, with a wringing of the hands, leaving as a sort of *res ipsa loquitur* the embedded premise that, with fewer guns around, of course there would be fewer suicides. It is an uncommonly silly inference, not only because it does not follow logically, but because it is contrary to readily ascertainable facts. The suicide rate in this country, which has fluctuated little in recent years, does not track the number or distribution of guns in large or in fine. If people of both sexes are showing an increasing preference for handguns as a means of self-destruction, one should presume no more than that they prefer a low-tech, quick, and relatively painless way out.

The suicide rate in this country does not track the number or distribution of guns in large or in fine.

Suicides remain today what they have long been: generally a phenomenon of older white males. Rates are lower for women than for men, and lower for non-whites than for whites. According to a report published in the August 9, 1995, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, between 1980 and 1992—while the handgun stock in the United States increased by approximately 40 per cent—suicide rates among persons aged 25 and younger declined from 5.7 per 100,000 to 5.4 per 100,000. This is, of course, the very age group whose homicide victimization has exhibited the most startling spike in this same time period. The instrumentality theory is in ruins. And the worst of it has not yet been told.

In the last year or two, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and a number of other states have relaxed their restrictions on the carrying of concealed handguns by civilians. When the late returns come in, these changes may yet save the instrumentality theory from the dustbin, but the early returns are not encouraging. "I'm detecting that I'm eating a lot of crow on this issue," Harris County District Attorney John Holmes recently professed. Holmes's jurisdiction, the third most populous county in the United States, includes Houston. Holmes was one of many who predicted that "blood would run in the streets" when the Texas concealed-carry law came into effect 14 months ago. It hasn't happened. In fact, with 112,000 new concealed-carry permits issued, there have been all of 57 "incidents" recorded among licensees, mostly, according to *The Texas Lawyer*, involving possessing while intoxicated or *failing* to conceal the weapon. Eating crow is "not necessarily something I like to do," Holmes told *The Texas Lawyer*, "but I'm doing it on this."

It is a remarkable story, when one thinks about it. After all, the instrumentality theory is not completely vacuous. A good deal of deadly violence is indeed of the impulsive variety, and adding guns to tantrums must often lead to a certain amount of trouble. And if rational rather than impulsive behavior is the issue, relaxed concealed-carry laws do raise a real concern, what strategy theorists call the "first mover" problem. Suppose an angry quarrel breaks out between two strangers. Neither one knows whether the other is armed, but each knows if he himself is. Because whoever gets his gun out first (the "first mover") has a strategic advantage, an armed man in this situation might well think it better to go for his gun first and ask questions afterward. If both players are armed, both should reason thus. The Gunfight at the O.K. Corral is the predicted result. Yet such incidents seldom occur. Evidently the reality is more complicated than the model allows.

The problem with the "first mover" formulation is that it focuses on two people only and assumes away the whole rest of the world. But an antagonist cannot make such an assumption. What if he pulls a gun on an unarmed man? What if bystanders, themselves armed, arrest him or finger him for the police? What if he shoots his antagonist, and armed bystanders gun him down? For rational actors, these are pacifying incentives. Better keep one's shooting iron put up unless and until the end is nigh. Call this the "strategic pacification" effect of firearms.

The Florida experience with liberalized concealed-carry laws is the proper place to end our excursion. As of 1988, when it liberalized its law, Florida had one of the country's highest murder rates. As happened two years ago in Texas, Florida public officials and newspaper editorialists outdid themselves with lurid predictions: blood in the streets, the O.K. Corral, High Noon, John Wayne, and so on. As in Texas, nothing of the sort resulted. Within a few years something like 150,000 permits were outstanding, but fewer than ten felony offenses have been committed in all this period of time with properly authorized guns, none involving homicide. And in fact, the state's murder rate has fallen in every single year since the law was changed, and now is below the national average.

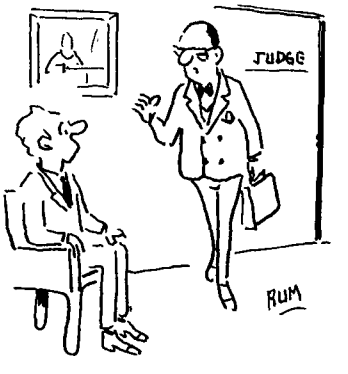
THE phenomenon received wide coverage (including in this magazine) and was on its way to making a serious dent in the instrumentality theory when, in the nick of time, the, um, cavalry arrived, in the unlikely incarnation of three University of Maryland criminologists—David McDowall, Colin Loftin, and Brian Wiersema—who were able to extract a dark and portentous lining from the supposed silver cloud. They looked at the effects of relaxed concealed-carry laws over various periods in five counties, one in Oregon, one in Mississippi, and three in Florida. Not only did they find no evidence for the phenomenon of strategic pacification, they found, in three of the five counties studied, that relaxing concealed-carry laws increased gun murders significantly. Their results created a sensation. The *New York Times* ran two stories on the study, several months apart. The second of them bore the misleading headline, "Study Links Rise in Killings to Relaxed Gun Laws."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It would have taken an astute reader indeed to discern that McDowall and his colleagues had discovered no such thing. What they found, in fact, was an increase in *gun* killings, not *all* killings; and the difference is crucial. Why limit oneself to considering gun killings when the puzzle is why rates of murder from all causes are in free-fall with so much more gun carrying going on? The instrumentality theory needs better support than this study, which was weak in other respects as well. Most notably, it selected only some years and some counties for study, leaving out of the analysis a great deal of data that were as readily accessible as those they used. Why not use the experience of all Florida's counties, and all the counties in Mississippi and Oregon? And why those places and not other places where licenses have been available and held by significant numbers of people, such as Pennsylvania, Connecticut, or Indiana? And why limit oneself to gun homicides when uniform crime records are kept of all homicides, and indeed for all serious crimes, back to the mid 1970s? What might one learn if such a larger study were done?

Actually, such a study was already in progress even as McDowall and his colleagues were enjoying their 15 minutes of fame. John Lott, one of the country's leading econometricians and John Olin Fellow at the University of Chicago Law School, and David Mustard, a graduate student in the university's economics department, had undertaken one of the largest statistical studies of crime ever mounted. Taking every county in the country (there are 3,054, all told) and every crime category of which the U.S. Department of Justice keeps track, over every year for which such data were available (1977 through 1992), Lott and Mustard tried to model what happened when concealed-carry laws were relaxed. Their conclusions were stunning. Not only did they find a strategic-pacification effect, they found that it was very large, and that it was most pronounced in the counties where death by violence had been most prevalent. Furthermore, at the same time that confrontational crimes diminished in the presence of liberalized carry laws, non-confrontational crimes (like auto theft and larceny) increased. Bad guys moving into safer lines is one of the predicted effects of strategic pacification.

The Lott–Mustard study was available in draft last summer. As one might imagine, it threw national gun-control activists into near hysteria. They were issuing denunciations and calling it fraudulent before they had seen it—and offering the canard that Lott, a former Wharton School professor, former chief economist of the U.S Sentencing Commission, and author of dozens of econometric studies, many of them of criminal behavior, was not to be trusted because his position at the University of Chicago was supported by a foundation whose corpus was donated by a member of the family that owns the company that makes Winchester ammunition: so Lott is a hireling of the firearms industry, QED.



"I can get you off with community service. The judge needs a gardener."

Of course these lucubrations are a crock. The Olin Foundation (let alone Winchester) does not give money to Lott; its gift is to the Law School, which appoints Olin Fellows through a committee of professors. Every university in the country launders capitalist pelf in this way, and quite a few others than the University of Chicago, including Harvard, Stanford, and Yale, so launder Olin pelf. After repeating the initial smear, at least the *Austin American-Statesman* and *USA Today* offered printed clarifications. Though the matter has long since been put to rest, Josh Sugarman, executive director of the Violence Policy Center, has continued to press the Olin connection on national television (as recently as a few weeks ago), even as Kristen Rand, the VPC's director of federal policy, has blanketed the country with letters to the editor taking the same line.

NO study as large as Lott–Mustard will escape without criticism. Indeed Lott–Mustard will be the subject of a panel at the upcoming annual meeting of the American Economics Association, where other scholars with the same data set (freely shared by Lott and Mustard) may offer some very different interpretations of it. Moreover, Lott–Mustard has had some serious reservations lodged against it already. Daniel Nagin and Daniel Black, two important students of the economics of crime at Carnegie-Mellon, reject the claim that the Lott–Mustard data show a strategic-pacification effect. If one recomputes the numbers with the Florida experience left out, they contend, the effect disappears. It is possible that the Florida experience is simply a coincidence of the statutory change with a murder rate that rapidly declined for other, unaccounted-for reasons.

Whatever eventually becomes of the Lott–Mustard claim to have found a strategic-pacification effect, this study has changed the conversation about guns in at least one crucial way. It has pushed the instrumentality effect clear off the screen. The entire game is now about measuring the good guns do, rather than the harm they do.

A revolution of this dimension in a public debate so important would seem to be a newsworthy event. The reader probably wonders, given the *New York Times*'s double coverage of the minor-league study by McDowall et al., what the newspaper of record has to say about the Lott–Mustard findings. It is a question with an interesting answer. Not a word about the study has ever appeared in the paper. The make-over at the *New York Times* goes on apace, with *Pravda* as the obvious role model. Of course, it would be unfair to place too much censure on the *Times*'s stooped shoulders. Its failure is merely emblematic of the broader theme of dogmatic blindness that afflicts elite opinion on this subject. And so the instrumentality theory of guns and violence lives on in the made-up minds of America's opinion leaders, fresh and beautiful as the day they met her at Ramsey Clark's place, until the end of time. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SELLING OUT?

China Syndrome

The latest Clinton scandal has a familiar feel to it. Meet the international equivalents of Jim and Susan McDougal.

RICH LOWRY

IN August 1994 the late Commerce Secretary Ron Brown led a trade mission to China that seemed a smashing success for all involved. On the trip, some $6 billion worth of new business deals were announced between U.S. corporations and the Chinese government, including a mammoth $1-billion power-plant deal for a partnership of the New Orleans–based Entergy Corp. and the Indonesian conglomerate, the Lippo Group. AT&T and General Electric inked multi-million-dollar deals. And, in a classic instance of Ron Brown's corporatist politics at work, a cut of the new funds was destined for the coffers of the Democratic Party.

According to a report in the *Washington Times*, John Huang, the former Lippo vice chairman who was involved in preparations for the China mission while he was at Commerce, subsequently raised hundreds of thousands of dollars in contributions from the corporations represented on the China mission. AT&T gave $325,000, the Entergy Corp. $156,500, and General Electric Co., $121,250. But recent revelations in the growing Clinton fund-raising scandal raise the question of whether the biggest potential Democratic contributor in this case wasn't the Communist Chinese government itself.

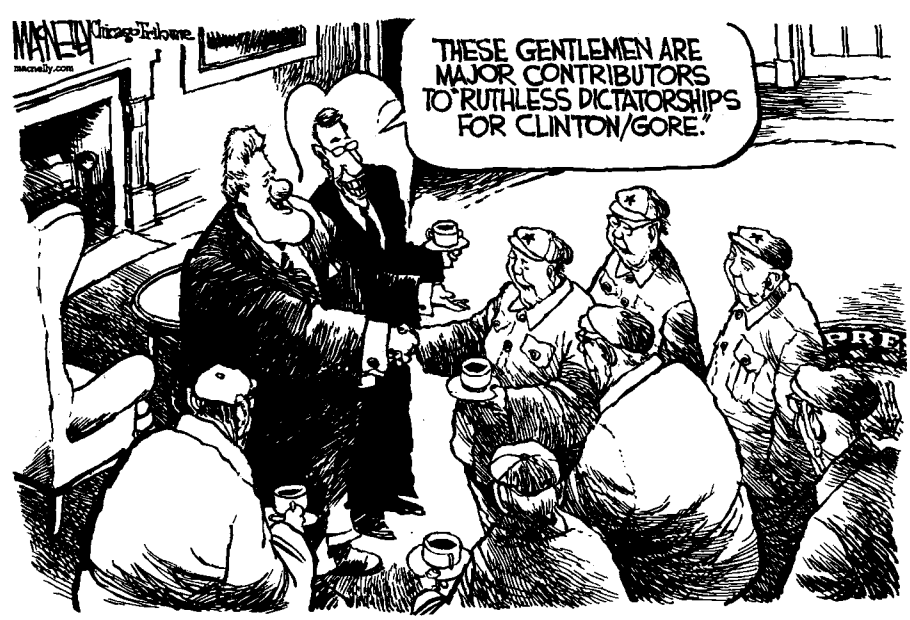
Stoked by bombshell reports by Bob Woodward in the *Washington Post* about an FBI investigation into the role of the Chinese embassy in Democratic fund-raising, the latest Clinton scandals have been elevated into the realm of the fantastic. But they have their roots in the classic Clinton formula: Arkansas cronies, a willingness to do anything to win, an inability to distinguish between official duties and politicking.

Like all Clinton scandals, the latest begins in Little Rock. That's where Charlie Trie, the freelance businessman who would later bring a Chinese arms merchant to the White House, owned the Fu Lin Chinese restaurant frequented by then-Gov. Clinton. John Huang, the Lippo executive turned Commerce official turned DNC fund-raiser, lived in Little Rock. So did James Riady, son of Lippo co-founder Mochtar Riady. It was in the Arkansas capital that the initial Lippo–Clinton links were forged, as the Riadys funded Clinton's gubernatorial campaigns and at a crucial moment in the 1992 primary campaign floated Clinton a $3.5-million loan.

Once Clinton was in the White House, apparently, it was payback time. In a letter to the White House Huang asked about jobs at the National Security Council, State Department, and Commerce Department for himself and another Lippo official. Huang became the deputy assistant secretary for international economic policy at Commerce; his Lippo colleague won appointment to a federal advisory panel. Trade missions like the 1994 one to China were doubtless hotbeds of cash-intense wheeling and dealing. That is why Larry Klayman, the head of the conservative group Judicial Watch, which helped crack the latest round of scandals with its early focus on Commerce, calls the department "the cradle of the Administration's illegal fund-raising civilization."

When Brown moved from the DNC to the Commerce Department, he brought his DNC team with him. Melissa Moss, the chief fund-raiser at the DNC, became the director of business liasion at Commerce. Alexis Herman, meanwhile, Brown's chief of staff at the DNC, moved to the White House, where her responsibilities included organizing briefings for CEOs selected for trade missions. In 1993, then, Brown just moved his master fund-raising operation the dozen or so blocks from the DNC headquarters to the Commerce Department.

This is one of the reasons Commerce was such an appropriate roosting place for Huang. First, obviously, is that it afforded him an opportunity to influence trade policy. For reasons no one in the Administration has yet adequately explained, Huang had a top-secret security clearance both before he joined Commerce and after he left. While at



Mr. Lowry is NR*'s national political reporter.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the department, he was scheduled to receive 37 intelligence briefings, several having to do with China (and he would often call the Lippo offices on the same days he received classified documents). But, just as importantly, Commerce was the place in the Administration where international policy, politics, and cash met.

It's a political culture in which the Lippo Group would have felt entirely comfortable. Lippo was used to operating in Asia, in which payments to government officials are typically the price of doing business. The idea is to spread as much cash as possible, ensuring the good-will of all recipients. Lippo applied the formula liberally. Lippo gave a good-bye kiss of nearly $800,000 to Huang when he left for Commerce; James Riady contributed $175,000 to Clinton and the Democrats in 1992 alone; and, for good measure, Lippo paid disgraced Clinton Justice Department official Webb Hubbell $150,000 when he was headed to jail.

Lippo's interests were essentially indistinguishable from China's. The conglomerate plans major investments in China, and hence would have had an interest in a stable, open U.S. policy toward the Mainland. Lippo also had more direct connections. In 1993 it sold half of its Hong Kong Chinese Bank to China Resources Holding Co.; according to a report in the *Los Angeles Times*, China Resources "is sometimes used by the Chinese government as a cover for spying." There was good reason for Lippo and China to conclude the Clinton Administration could be bought—because Clinton cronies were posting "for sale" signs all over Asia.

The White House muscled Arkansas political hack James Wood into the chairmanship of the American Institute of Taiwan in 1995, in effect the U.S. ambassadorship to Taiwan. He had to resign early this year amid reports that he was dunning Taiwanese officials and executives for contributions to the Democrats. Mark Middleton, meanwhile, another Clinton crony, worked as an aide to Mack McLarty in the White House until February 1995. He has spent much of his time since denying the contention of a Taiwanese-public relations consultant that in an August 1995 meeting Middleton solicited a $15-million contribution from Liu Taiying, chief financial officer of the Kuomintang Party.

Wood and Middleton both operated in Taiwan, which of course is bitter enemies with the People's Republic. But both had ties to Huang. Huang and Wood took a trip to Taiwan in May paid for by the Democratic Party to identify potential donors. Huang had a file card with Wood's telephone number and kept a bunch of Wood's business cards. Middleton too was in frequent contact with Huang. A company he had formed in June 1995 had a partnership with a Chinese businessman and, according to a report in the *Washington Post*, planned investments in China. Selling out to China, in short, would feather everyone's nest.

Who Did She Know . . . ?

ON May 3, 1995, Erskine Bowles, then deputy chief of staff at the White House, wrote a memo to Alexis Herman, director of public liaison. Mr. Bowles wanted to impress on Miss Herman the importance of ensuring the reliability of information provided by her office for inclusion in the White House Database (WhoDB). "[T]he President and First Lady," he wrote, "will view this information on a regular basis."

Bowles asks Miss Herman to designate a WhoDB contact person from her office, whose responsibilities will include "[a]ttending weekly Roll-Out meetings (chaired by me)." He warns that "[t]hese duties will require a substantial time commitment from your contact person. I ask that you choose someone who will be able to make this project a high priority."

Considering his reputation as a no-nonsense organizer, this is an extraordinary amount of attention for Erskine Bowles to shower on a project that has been dismissed by the White House as a souped-up list of social contacts. Bowles's memo is part of an arsenal of evidence gathered by Rep. David McIntosh's regulatory-affairs subcommittee to suggest that the WhoDB—an "official" taxpayer-funded project which could not legally be turned to partisan purposes—was a central tracking device for the Administration's hyperactive pursuit of campaign funds.

Investigators have found that activity related to the database took a marked upswing after the 1994 elections—a trend in keeping with the Administration's frenzy for cash when it was still on the ropes in early 1995. The White House, and particularly Mrs. Clinton, have portrayed the WhoDB as something ginned up by aides without much involvement by their superiors. The paper trail says otherwise.

In a January 26, 1994 memo to Clinton confidant Bruce Lindsey, White House aide Marsha Scott promises—in one of many references to Hillary Clinton in her memos—to "keep you and the First Lady informed with progress reports." Another White House aide, Erich Vaden, wrote to Erskine Bowles on February 27, 1995, "I wanted you to be aware of the fact that the First Lady has set up an appointment to see the software tomorrow at 11:45. We will be demonstrating the individuals module and the event management module to her."

Started in early 1995, the WhoDB includes minute biographical information—nicknames, birthdays—on at least 355,000 people, many of them drawn from DNC and Clinton campaign lists. The WhoDB also tracked who had received which White House perks. Former DNC finance chairman Truman Arnold recently told reporters the WhoDB was made available to him as the equivalent of a fund-raising Lexis/Nexis.

The latest documents seem to show Mrs. Clinton signed off on just such a use of the database. In a June 1994 memo, Marsha Scott writes, "Any information stored with [the Clinton–Gore '92 campaign database] could then be dumped into the new system and made available, when deemed necessary, to the DNC." Mrs. Clinton scribbled at the top: "sounds promising."

In one February 1995 memo a White House aide writes a, "database of this sort has been attempted by every Administration since President Nixon. This White House will be the first to succeed." Congratulations. Outdoing President Nixon is something at which the Clinton Administration is becoming quite expert.

—Rich Lowry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this context, all the possible conduits for Chinese cash just lined up for their share of backscratching. Charlie Trie, a member of the Arkansas family, was in and out of the White House at least 23 times. Although none of his businesses ever seemed particularly successful, Trie, his family, and his company managed to give more than $200,000 to the Democrats. Last year Trie walked into the offices of Clinton's legal defense fund with more than $400,000 in checks and money orders in manila envelopes. Less than four weeks later, Trie was appointed to a commission on Asian trade policy.

The White House also recommended for a trade-policy advisory committee Pauline Kanchanalak, who according to Woodward is a focus of the FBI investigation into the Chinese Embassy's role in Democratic fund-raising. In September 1994, the *New York Times* has reported, Mrs. Kanchanalak called Huang at Commerce; the same day Huang wrote a memo urging a senior Commerce official to support Mrs. Kanchanalak's planned United States–Thai Business Council and to try to get the President to attend the first meeting (Mr. Clinton did end up dropping in).

On June 18 last year, in a meeting arranged by Huang, Mrs. Kanchanalak brought a prospective client, Dhanin Chearvanont, and a senior Thai Foreign Ministry official to coffee with President Clinton. China policy was one of the topics of discussion. Dhanin's massive Charoen Pokaphand Group is one of the richest conglomerates in Asia and, according to the *New York Times*, is the largest foreign investor in China. Around the same time, Mrs. Kanchanalak and her sister-in-law gave the DNC $185,000.

Whether there was any grand quid pro quo amid all the little ones in exchange for the money Huang laundered remains to be seen.

Another possible conduit for Chinese money, the California businessman Johnny Chung, visited the White House 49 times. Since 1994 he had given the Democrats nearly $400,000. *Time* magazine has reported he gave $50,000 to the DNC so that he could attend a March 1995 Clinton radio address with six Chinese business associates. That same week Chung brought his friends to shake hands with the First Lady. Chung's associates happened to be the heads of state-run petroleum and trading companies.

Whether there was any grand quid pro quo, amid all the little ones like appointments to commissions and face time with the President, in exchange for the money Huang and the rest of these characters laundered into Democratic coffers remains to be seen (the DNC now has returned $3 million). But, at the very least, the Administration's policy shift on China, from denouncing President Bush's "coddling of dictators" to respectful and open engagement with those same rulers, was awfully convenient; like Willie Sutton and banks, the Administration ended up where the money was. One early sign of the Administration's change of heart came in a statement from Ron Brown in an April 1993 meeting with Asian businessmen—in response to a question from then-Lippo executive John Huang.

Administration apologists argue that Asiagate shows the problems with "the system" and the need for radical campaign-finance reforms. But it really is only the dial-for-cash politics of Ron Brown and the fast-and-loose ethics of Arkansas pushed to their logical conclusion. When official favors are mingled with politics, especially among people used to operating by the rules of a one-party state, attempts to buy and sell policy will result—whether you're in Arkansas or China. Asiagate, in short, is what happens when Dog Patch meets international intrigue. Maybe Little Rock and Canton Province aren't so far apart after all. □

The Last Dragon

Was Deng Xiaoping Communism's savior, or its destroyer?

ROSS TERRILL

"GREAT men are almost always bad men," wrote Lord Acton in his famous reflections on the corruption of power. And certainly if eliminating opponents and "class enemies" and imprisoning people for their ideas are wrong, then Deng Xiaoping must be considered a bad man, as well as a great one.

Indeed, the Chinese Communist Party this century has been a hard school. A senior colleague, Gao Gang, killed himself in prison in the 1950s, smoothing Deng's rise. Deng's chief colleague of the 1950s and 1960s, Liu Shaoqi, died a cruel death from beating by Mao Zedong's Red Guards. His chief rival for power after the death of Mao in 1976, Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, was arrested a month after her husband's death and spent the rest of her life in custody.

Mr. Terrill's books on China include Mao, China in Our Time, *and* Madame Mao.

Once, when a visitor asked Deng Xiaoping if his bold economic liberalization of the 1980s might bring peril to China, Deng shrugged and said: "I'm short and small, as you see. If the sky starts falling in, I can't be held responsible for holding it up, as taller, bigger men can be."

Five feet two inches tall, a chain-smoker for sixty years, Deng had little eyes set far apart on a round face and a bullet head sitting on wide shoulders with virtually no neck. As a presence, he could not compare with the imposing Mao Zedong or the handsome Zhou Enlai. Yet Deng changed China enormously—and mostly for the better. But his achievement was incomplete and ambiguous.

Mao had brought Communism to China. Deng tried to save Communism with one hand and bury it with the other. He built a China economically minded at home and nationalistic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abroad. Has he left the Chinese Communist system weaker than it was when he took over, or has he saved Leninism with consumerism?

China has tended to cling to single, over-simplified solutions to its post-dynastic problems. After World War I "Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy" were supposed to rejuvenate the country. In the 1940s Chiang Kai-shek found a panacea in reliance on the United States. In the 1950s, Beijing said, "The Soviet Union's today is China's tomorrow." In the 1980s, blind pro-Westernism returned as the presumed key to China's salvation.

Deng, to his credit, spurned such over-simplified solutions. His bent was for eclecticism. Born into a rich landed family in Sichuan Province in 1904, he went to France and the Soviet Union to study and agitate in the progressive fashion of the time. He was not particularly devoted to Communist doctrines as a young man, which made it easier for him to shake them off later. The few mentions of Marx or Lenin in his writings are lukewarm. "Marx and Engels lived and died in the last century," Deng said in one essay. "They were great, but we shouldn't expect them to come alive and help solve all our problems today."

Back in China in 1926, he advanced by doing concrete work—for some years he was note-taker at Communist Party meetings—and avoiding large conflicts in which others fell. He made the Long March in the mid 1930s, learning the power of the gun, and he rose by making himself helpful to Mao. After the Communists won power in 1949, he became boss of his native southwest; by the mid 1950s he was secretary-general of the Communist Party.

Under Deng, Marxism was mostly jettisoned, while Leninism was retained.

When Mao launched the utopian Great Leap Forward in 1958, defying human nature and local opinion, Deng for the first time realized that his great mentor could be terribly wrong. But Deng kept quiet, and in the early 1960s he helped pick up the pieces of the failed attempt at forced industrialization as Mao brooded on the sidelines.

Again in the so-called Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, the quixotic Mao, aided by his wife, struck out in a utopian leftist direction that left Deng uncomprehending and exposed. He tried to appease Mao by joining in the denunciation of the head of state, Liu Shaoqi, but Deng himself was being marinated as the next goose for the oven ("The Number Two Person in Power Taking the Capitalist Road"). In 1966, Mao sent Deng south to work as a laborer.

Deng's story is full of pathos and violence as well as triumph. Chunks of his career were cut out by Mao's purging. Some periods in power—in the 1950s and again after Mao allowed him back in 1973—were marked by a sycophancy that saw him quote Mao like a well-trained parrot.

Deng's way was to achieve a desired result without regard to image, theory, or elegance of method. He never was a diligent reader or given to philosophizing, but he displayed a knack for knowing what to do and what not to say. He was kind enough to bathe his crippled son daily during the years of exile, stubborn enough to refuse a phone call from President Bush during the Tiananmen Square crisis, suspicious enough to knock two appointed Number Two figures from their waiting perch in 1987 and 1989 (just as Mao had done), and good-humored enough to crawl under a table as the agreed penalty for losing a round of bridge.

THE Deng era (1978–97) brought four improvements to China, all with limits or unfortunate side effects.

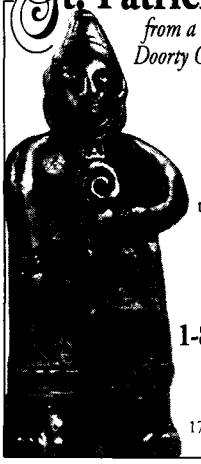
De-ideologization. Deng put dramatically less stress on class struggle than Mao had done; policy and ordinary life in China began to proceed with little reference to Marxism, which was retained merely as a convenient doctrine which could be cited to justify restricting "spiritual pollution" from the West or knocking down an opponent because of his "bourgeois liberalism."

Otherwise Marxism was jettisoned, while Leninism was retained.

A higher priority to economic development. The test of socialism, Deng said, was whether or not it produced economic progress. The mood became one of seeking efficiency and prosperity. However, the means often included crime, great inequality, and corruption.

Steps toward constitutionalism. Criminal and civil codes were introduced, the

St. Patrick Wall Relief
from a carving on the 12th century Doorty Cross at Kilfenora, Co. Clare.

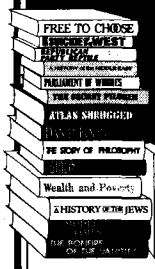


Part of a collection of rare and unusual replica European sculpture & tapestries. Armor, swords, chess sets, garden ornaments and more.

Free Color Catalogue
1-800-525-1733, Ext. N977

design TOSCANO®
17 E. Campbell Street, Dept. N977
Arlington Hgts, IL 60005

AUDIO BOOKS



• Rentals by mail
• All Unabridged
• Huge Selection
• 100% Guarantee

BLACKSTONE AUDIO BOOKS
Dept. NR • P.O. Box 969 • Ashland OR 97520

For a FREE Catalogue, Write or Call:
1-800-729-2665

"Radical" comes from the Latin *radicalis*, **having roots**. At Thomas Aquinas College, we offer a rigorous classical liberal arts education rooted in the cumulative and hard-won wisdom of our 2500-year-old Western and Catholic tradition.

Real radicals have roots.

Call or write our Admissions Office, Thomas Aquinas College, Box 105, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, CA 93060; 800/634-9797.

Or you can visit us on the Web at http://www.ewtn.com/tac.

THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

role of law generally was enhanced, and more predictability came to public policy. This did not mean, however, that law restrained the government or that democracy was on the way. Words could still be crimes, as many a priest, democrat, and poet found out.

Opening to non-Chinese presence and ideas. Deng's open door meant an end to the ideological self-reliance of the Mao era. Mao had tilted to the West in foreign policy; Deng looked to the West in economic and even spiritual matters as well.

Yet security officials still mostly viewed foreigners as spies; flies and other pests, they said, were buzzing through the open door. (In 1992 I myself found out the limits to law and cosmopolitanism. Meeting up with a dissident in Beijing, I was hustled away by goons and in the middle of the night expelled from China. I had "instigated anti-government activities," the government news agency said. I had smuggled "democratic ideas into China.")

THE big question remains of what the goal of Deng's reform-after-revolution was supposed to be, and what will become of it. Can the goal be clear if modernization has edged aside socialism as the most highly prized value? No doubt the goal of Deng's reform was prosperity. But the goal of revolution was also supposed to be prosperity (as well as independence from foreign bullying). At times reform seemed simply a retreat, as if the aim of the Deng era was to unravel the Mao era.

Contrary to Sinological opinion, the great flaw in Mao was not his "excesses," his cult of personality, or the self-indulgence exemplified by his lechery, but his basic attachment to Marxist–Leninist social engineering. Deng, to his credit, took remarkable steps away from the whole box and dice of social engineering. He took government out of realms it formerly dominated. But Deng clung fast to the political authoritarianism of Leninism. Communist rule continued to exist through the Deng years for the same reason that Communist rule came into being in the first place: the power of the gun. The monopoly of political power by the Communist Party was for Deng a given. Popular sovereignty was as alien to him as ancestor worship to the youth of Los Angeles.

In 1989, after President Bush protested the detaining of the dissident scientist Fang Lizhi, whom he had invited to dinner at a Beijing hotel, Deng made this defense to Bush: "China needs stability. You know China has a lot of people, each of them has his or her own opinion. You protest today, and I protest tomorrow, and one year has 365 days, and we will have protests every day. How could we continue our economic construction?"

Deng also made his mark in foreign policy. China is less threatened from outside than for more than a century. Deng secured the incorporation of Hong Kong into the People's Republic. And while not as valued in the West as before Tiananmen Square and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the PRC is more influential in Asia than it has ever been.

Deng's mind, formed in the anti-colonial era, amidst civil and international violence, was not equipped for the Economic Age of the 1990s, when nations are increasingly interdependent, and when human-rights concerns have become central. The older Deng got, the more he was guided by atavism. The border war between China and Vietnam in 1979 revealed his readiness to reach for the gun when faced with provocation. He showed the same tendency for military solutions at Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Deng's inheritance is now up for grabs. Serious reformers will criticize Deng for failing to match his economic reform with political liberalization. Leftists will say he went too far with reform and risked materialism and national disunity. If Communist rule lasts only a few more years in China, Deng will be seen as a Gorbachev, the one who pulled essential beams out of the structure, causing its collapse. If Communist rule persists, Deng will be viewed as its savior, who kept the Communist Party in power by undermining its justification.

The problem of China, for the U.S. today, is not the rise of China as such, but the rise of a China that remains Leninist. The most hopeful scenario would find China moving away from Leninism without having to say so; Deng would then be thought of as a magician who began dismantling Communism by sleight of hand. But I doubt that Leninism can slip away in the night. All my instincts after three decades of observing China tell me that politics will revive with lights flashing—and maybe guns blazing. □

Illegal Services

When Congress passed restrictions on the Legal Services Corporation, the LSC called in its lawyers.

RAEL JEAN ISAAC

"THERE has been overheated rhetoric from those who want to kill legal services for the poor. . . . There have been abuses; we all know that. . . . That is all in the past." So spoke, in July 1996, Republican Congressman Jim Ramstad of Minnesota, one of 56 Republicans whose votes enabled the Democratic minority to restore $109 million to the budget of the Legal Services Corporation (LSC). Only a year earlier the House had voted to phase out funding for the LSC over three years; at that time it seemed as if the new Republican Congress would make good on the promise of its conservative leaders to eliminate federal funding for this hold-over of 1960s-style political activism.

The Republicans who saved Legal Services yet again (it was a Republican, Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, who was its chief champion when President Reagan sought to terminate the program) convinced themselves that in passing a long series of restrictions on its activities, they had finally reformed it. They had every reason to know better, because earlier efforts to rein in the program had been a complete failure.

Why did Congress believe that this time would be different? In part they

Mrs. Isaac writes on public policy issues.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were deceived by the agreement of the LSC, which has oversight over nearly three hundred local programs, to abide by the restrictions. Arguing for increased funding, California Democratic Congressman Julian Dixon declared: "In the face of new political realities, Legal Services advocates have been willing to bend over backward to accept far-reaching restrictions on attorney activities to ensure the continued existence of a viable core program." They were also unduly complacent because of the breadth of the new restrictions: Congress had never attempted to reform the program on this scale and in this detail.

Under the new rules, for example, Legal Services lawyers can no longer bring class-action suits, no longer lobby or engage in legislative or political advocacy, no longer litigate to reapportion electoral districts. They are forbidden to challenge welfare reform or bring suits on behalf of prisoners. (Legal Services lawyers have been a major force in expansion of prisoner "rights," including the right to release when courts find prisons to be overcrowded.)

Some of the new restrictions address complaints of groups victimized by Legal Services attorneys. Farmers using migrant labor had long complained that they were victims of what amounted to a government-sanctioned extortion racket. Legal Services attorneys would send them "demand letters" for large sums. Farmers could not even find out who was suing them on what grounds until the case went to court. Then, in addition to paying their own lawyer, they were often forced to pay attorney fees for Legal Services lawyers. The result was to put tremendous pressure on the farmer to submit to the initial demand letter. In response, Congress has now outlawed attorneys' fees in Legal Services cases, and ordered the programs to identify plaintiffs at the outset. Directors of public-housing projects had complained for years that Legal Services lawyers routinely prevented the eviction of drug dealers from public housing. In response, Congress has now forbidden Legal Services to take such cases.

Finally, Congress sought to deal with systemic problems: the unshakable hold on the public purse of existing Legal Services programs and the ease with which the rules could be evaded. While the Washington-based LSC was supposed to monitor and supervise local Legal Services programs, in practice the LSC Act made the LSC a check-writing machine, with local programs enjoying the right to automatic refunding. True, defunding a program that seriously violated the rules was possible on paper, but the process was so formidable and expensive that the Corporation rarely even attempted it. Congress has finally changed that, requiring a competitive selection process in which previous grantees, in theory at least, are not to be given preference.

But the most crucial reform by far was to forbid the use of non-LSC funds for activities that were out of bounds for federal funds. In the past, Legal Services attorneys could ignore congressional restrictions by claiming that any lawsuits that were explicitly forbidden—school-desegregation cases, for example—were brought with "other" funds, whether from state or local governments or from IOLTA (Interest of Lawyers' Trust Accounts), which pools short-term interest from client trust accounts and gives the proceeds to legal charities, primarily Legal Services. Now this all-important loophole was closed.

HOWEVER, if Congress believed it had secured the consent of Legal Services attorneys to the new restrictions, it was deluding itself. Legal Services programs promptly moved into their customary mode of rejecting any and all limitations on their freedom of action, whether by Congress or the LSC itself. As they had done so often before, they proceeded to ignore the restrictions and to subvert them, and, a new wrinkle, to bring lawsuits directly challenging them as unconstitutional.

Texas Rural Legal Aid (TRLA), traditionally one of the most radical Legal Services programs, took the lead in thumbing its nose at Congress. Although even under the old rules, Legal Services attorneys were forbidden to engage in "any political activity," TRLA filed a nakedly political lawsuit to overturn the election of two Republicans as sheriff and county commissioner in Val Verde County. TRLA sought to throw out the absentee ballots of eight hundred military personnel (Val Verde County is the site of Laughlin Air Force base) on the grounds, to quote the complaint, that their votes "resulted in the dilution of the Hispanic vote which resulted in a violation of section 2 of the Voting Rights Act."

The TRLA case, with its implied threat to the voting rights of all military personnel in local elections, produced a

Learn Another Language on Your Own!

Learn to speak a foreign language fluently on your own and at your own pace with what are considered the finest in-depth courses available. Many were developed by U.S. Department of State for diplomatic personnel who must learn a language quickly and thoroughly. Emphasis is on learning to speak and to understand the spoken language. A typical course (equivalent to a college semester) includes an album of 10 to 12 audio cassettes (10 to 18 hours), recorded by native-born speakers, plus a 250-page textbook. You can order now with a full **3-week money-back guarantee**.

☐ Arabic, Saudi	$185	☐ German I	$185	☐ Latvian	$185	☐ Slovak	$185
☐ Egyptian	$185	☐ German II	$155	☐ Lithuanian	$135	☐ Spanish I	$185
☐ Bulgarian	$245	☐ Greek	$185	☐ Mandarin	$185	☐ Spanish II	$165
☐ Cantonese	$185	☐ Haitian Creole	$225	☐ Norwegian	$125	☐ Swedish	$185
☐ Catalan	$185	☐ Hebrew	$255	☐ Persian	$185	☐ Swahili	$225
☐ Czech	$125	☐ Hungarian	$195	☐ Polish	$185	☐ Tagalog	$295
☐ Danish	$135	☐ Italian	$185	☐ Portuguese	$215	☐ Thai	$195
☐ Dutch	$125	☐ Japanese	$185	(Brazilian)		☐ Turkish	$195
☐ Estonian	$295	☐ Korean	$195	☐ Romanian	$115	☐ Ukrainian	$195
☐ French I	$185	☐ Lakota	$185	☐ Russian	$255	☐ Urdu	$185
☐ French II	$215	☐ Latin	$160	☐ Serbo-Croatian	$195	☐ Vietnamese	$225

Call toll-free **1-800-243-1234**, fax (203) 453-9774, e-mail: RK325@audioforum.com

Or clip this ad and send with your name and address and a check or money order – or charge to any major credit card, by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature. Ask for our free 56-page *Whole World Language Catalog* with courses in 96 languages. Our 25th year.

AUDIO-FORUM
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE

Audio-Forum, Room K325, 96 Broad Street, Guilford, CT 06437 (203) 453-9794

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

greater uproar in Congress than any other Legal Services case thus far. Texas Senators Phil Gramm and Kay Hutchinson in a furious joint letter to Douglas Eakeley, chairman of the LSC board, demanded that he direct TRLA to withdraw from this "illegal representation" or "face the loss of all federal funds in TRLA's possession and in the future." This was followed by an equally hot letter to Janet Reno signed by 58 senators (all the Republicans and three Democrats, including left-wing Democrat Barbara Mikulski, presumably sensitive to the large number of military installations in the D.C. area). Calling the TRLA lawsuit "an outrageous challenge to the military right to vote," the letter demanded that the Justice Department intervene.

'You can set up a second nonprofit corporation, which will not be the LSC grantee, [for] activities banned or restricted by the LSC Act.'

Worried by the political firestorm, the LSC sent a letter threatening punitive action to TRLA Executive Director David Hall, who sent an unrepentant reply. Both letters were revealing for what they did *not* say. The LSC did not criticize TRLA for violating the prohibition on engaging in politics, but focused on the TRLA demand, in its lawsuit, for outlawed attorney fees. In its reply, TRLA ignored the issue of attorney fees, and stoutly defended the lawsuit as a "civil rights" case (needless to say, TRLA did not see it as an assault on the civil rights of servicemen).

But although an LSC spokesman would describe the case as "perfectly valid," both the LSC and TRLA had every reason to know that it was not. In 1991 TRLA had sued to overturn an LSC regulation prohibiting Legal Services programs from engaging in redistricting litigation. Liberal judge Abner Mikva, a 22-year Democratic veteran of Congress, came down heavily against TRLA. Mikva ruled that the LSC Act "charges LSC with the duty to ensure that the Legal Services program remains free of partisan political influence and involvement" and that "politics and political considerations are inseparable from districting and apportionment." Kenneth Boehm, counsel to the LSC board in the Bush Administration and now chairman of the National Legal and Policy Center, points out that the legal precedent is crystal clear: if politics are inherent in redistricting, how much more are they inseparable from elections?

At this writing, the outcome of the TRLA effort to unseat the two Republicans is unknown. But whatever the lawsuit's outcome, it illustrates that Legal Services programs continue the familiar pattern of ignoring congressional restrictions, and the LSC brass, at least in a Democratic Administration, can be induced to weigh in only by the most compelling political pressures.

The second established *modus operandi* of Legal Services programs in dealing with congressional restrictions is to subvert them. In the Reagan years, Legal Services strategists pioneered the "mirror corporation." As one of those who devised the stratagem put it at the time, "You can set up a second nonprofit corporation, which will not be the LSC grantee, to do lobbying and other activities banned or restricted by the LSC Act." Congressional investigators discovered that the mirrors were separate in name only: for example, the Connecticut mirror had the same offices and phones, was staffed by the same attorneys and managed by the same executive director as the parent group.

In response to the current wave of restrictions, Legal Services programs have already established more than a dozen mirrors in nine states and more are surely on the way. As vice president of the Legal Aid Society of Santa Clara Elizabeth Shivall, put it: "It [Congress] can screw people with technicalities; we can unscrew them with technicalities."

There is, to be sure, a difference between the new and old mirrors, and it illustrates the ease with which Legal Services attorneys outwit Congress. Congress thought it had legislated away the problem of mirrors in the 1980s by forbidding any subgrantee of a Legal Services program to engage in activities forbidden to the parent group. But Legal Services attorneys devised a simple end run. The established program stops taking federal funds, creating a spinoff which applies for them. Technically, the new group is not a subgrantee because the money goes directly to it from the LSC, rather than being funneled to it by the original program.

Predictably, the Clinton-appointed LSC board and professional staff, which includes former Legal Services attorneys who were "generals" in the campaign against the Reagan-era restrictions, see nothing wrong with the new mirrors. Robert Echols, a top LSC staffer, described what the programs were doing as "perfectly appropriate." John Tull, formerly an outside consultant who helped Legal Services programs circumvent problems with the LSC monitoring staff, now himself in charge of monitoring, sent a reassuring memo to programs around the country. While the memo cautioned grantees on the eight criteria that signified "joint control," it concluded that even if the new groups met some of them, what was important was "the totality of the circumstances." Kenneth Boehm observes: "This means that LSC staff with close ties to grantees will be the sole judge of whether two groups sharing office space, staff, and other resources are subject to 'common control' and therefore to the new restrictions."

IF ignoring and subverting congressional restrictions are old hat, this time round Legal Services programs have embarked on something new: they are challenging Congress directly in the courts on the grounds that the restrictions are unconstitutional. The initiative is coming from the local level, for the LSC board and staff, however sympathetic ideologically, are fearful that Legal Services may win the battle (in the courts) and lose the war (congressional funding). Calling the legal challenge "playing Russian roulette," outgoing LSC President Alexander Forger complained: "Some people feel it's better to hang than to compromise."

It may indeed seem puzzling why Legal Services programs should not content themselves with the tried and true remedies of paying the restrictions no mind or setting up mirrors. But activists complain that the mirrors are inconvenient and inefficient, requiring duplication of facilities, and are often financially practicable only in large urban centers. Also, at the grass-roots level there is widespread conviction that Congress lacks the political will to pull the plug on Legal Services. Activists are convinced that when it comes down to the wire, dread of media opprobrium

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(headlines like "Republicans Deny Poor Legal Lifeline") and the wrath of bar associations will serve as sufficiently powerful deterrents. The challengers also believe, not unreasonably, that they have a strong legal case.

Activists are focusing their legal assault on what they recognize is the only meaningful congressional reform—applying the same rules to federal and nonfederal funds. Most of the other restrictions are undermined once nonfederal funds are free of the rules.

THE first suit challenging the restrictions on constitutional grounds was in New York state court and produced a speedy judgment in favor of Legal Services from liberal judge Beverly Cohen. Her opinion sounded like a *New York Times* editorial. The restrictions, wrote Judge Cohen, were an attack "on the causes of the poor and their champions," with "the rhetoric of budget reform . . . used to thinly disguise an attack on basic freedoms." On the key issue, the right of Congress to ban Legal Services lawyers from using nonfederal funds for activities they were forbidden to undertake using federal funds (in this case a class action), Judge Cohen ruled that Congress had violated "our most cherished American First Amendment freedoms: freedom of association, freedom of speech and freedom to petition the government for redress of grievances."

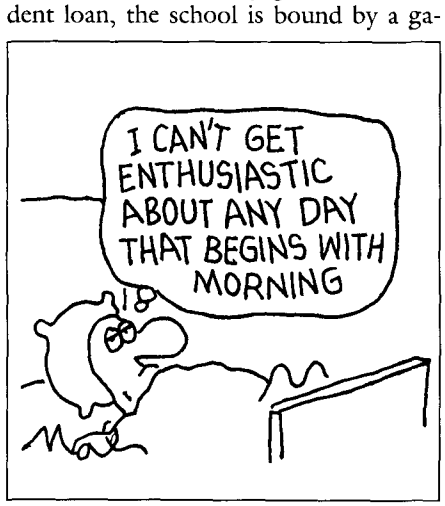
As a ruling in the lowest state court, the decision technically applies only to the facts of the specific case. Its primary significance, as one Legal Services advocate put it, is as "a very strong psychological boost for lawyers out there who are chafing under these rules."

The more significant constitutional challenges have been mounted in federal court, in New York and in Hawaii. Since the programs cannot sue Congress, the lawsuits name as defendant the LSC, which has issued regulations in accordance with the new congressional restrictions.

The plaintiffs in the New York case are an assortment of individual Legal Services attorneys (most employed by Mobilization for Youth Legal Services), Farmworkers Legal Services (a former grantee), activist community groups like WEP Workers Together (composed of welfare recipients assigned to workfare programs), and local left-wing politicians. Many of the plaintiffs are an inadvertent advertisement for abolishing Legal Services. MFY Legal Services attorneys, to name only a few of their more egregious cases, have brought suit against the Salvation Army, arguing that its religious mission disqualified it as a charity; sued the Huntington Coalition for the Homeless when it sought to evict a disruptive woman who refused to abide by any of the shelter's rules; sued to prevent New York City from closing a crackhouse that had plagued the neighborhood with shootings, prostitutes, and drug dealing; and sued to prevent the city from lowering welfare benefits to a panhandler on the grounds that his regular $250 take from motorists trapped at red lights was "exempt earned income."

The Hawaii suit is the more important, for here the chief plaintiffs are five Legal Services programs, Legal Aid Society of Hawaii, Alaska Legal Services Corporation, and three California programs. Except for the Legal Aid Society of Orange County, all the plaintiff programs receive a large proportion of their funds from nonfederal sources. They claim the congressional restrictions on non-LSC funds violate the First Amendment by restricting rights of free speech and association and the Fifth Amendment by subjecting the poor to unique and onerous burdens, thus denying them equal protection under the law. In a final slap at the restrictions, the lawsuit demands attorney fees.

From a conservative point of view, insofar as these attorneys seek to limit the reach of federal dictates, they have a strong case. In the wake of Judge Cohen's decision the *Washington Times* published an editorial with the tongue-in-cheek title, "The LSC strikes a blow for freedom," pointing out that if a college allows even one student to pay for tuition with a federally guaranteed student loan, the school is bound by a gazillion dictates from the Department of Education. The editorial urged every university in New York State to file immediately for regulatory relief based on Cohen's ruling.



The Hawaii court has already ruled for the plaintiffs. On February 14, federal judge Alan Kaye enjoined the LSC from enforcing seven key congressional restrictions. Judge Kaye ruled that Legal Services programs were free to use nonfederal funds for lobbying, for rulemaking, for redistricting cases, in fighting welfare reform, in prisoner litigation, in abortion-related litigation, and to represent drug dealers facing eviction proceedings. (On the principle that these were not First Amendment issues, he upheld, at least temporarily, the ban on class actions, attorney fees, and representation of aliens.)

Given the success of this pioneering case, a wave of copycat lawsuits around the country is foreordained, as well as a vigorous onslaught against the restrictions Judge Kaye has left standing. Even before the Hawaii decision, New York University law professor Burt Neuborne, counsel in both New York cases, reported that more cases were in the planning pipeline, including a challenge to Congress's right to restrict even the use of *federal* funds.

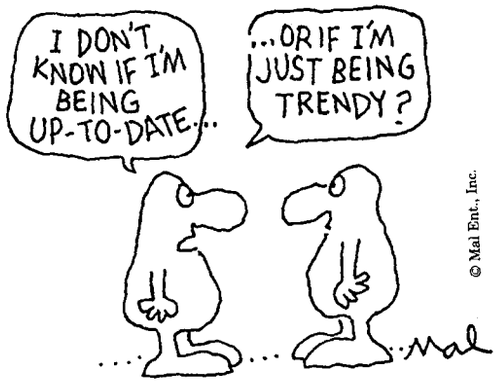
What all this means is that Congress can no longer pretend that Legal Services is capable of reform. Indeed, from a legal point of view, would-be reformers are likely to wind up not even at, but well behind square one. Congressional restrictions had traditionally applied to both federal and "private" funds, primarily money given to Legal Services programs by foundations. Because these funds paled in importance next to IOLTA and state money, Legal Services programs had never challenged the applicability of the restrictions to private money. But once the courts rule that nonfederal funds are exempt from restrictions, this of course applies to private money as well.

From the practical point of view, it will be back to business as usual for Legal Services programs. Boehm observes: "They will be back into redistricting cases, strike-related lawsuits, all the games and controversies they used to get involved in." Under the LSC Act, only the Corporation is authorized to ensure compliance by Legal Services grantees, and in the last analysis, says Boehm, the LSC has no incentive to

(Continued on page 60)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help!!!!



"I might be an accountant, but I'm still dangerous."

"As you can see, your honor, sentencing my client would only burden our overcrowded jail system."

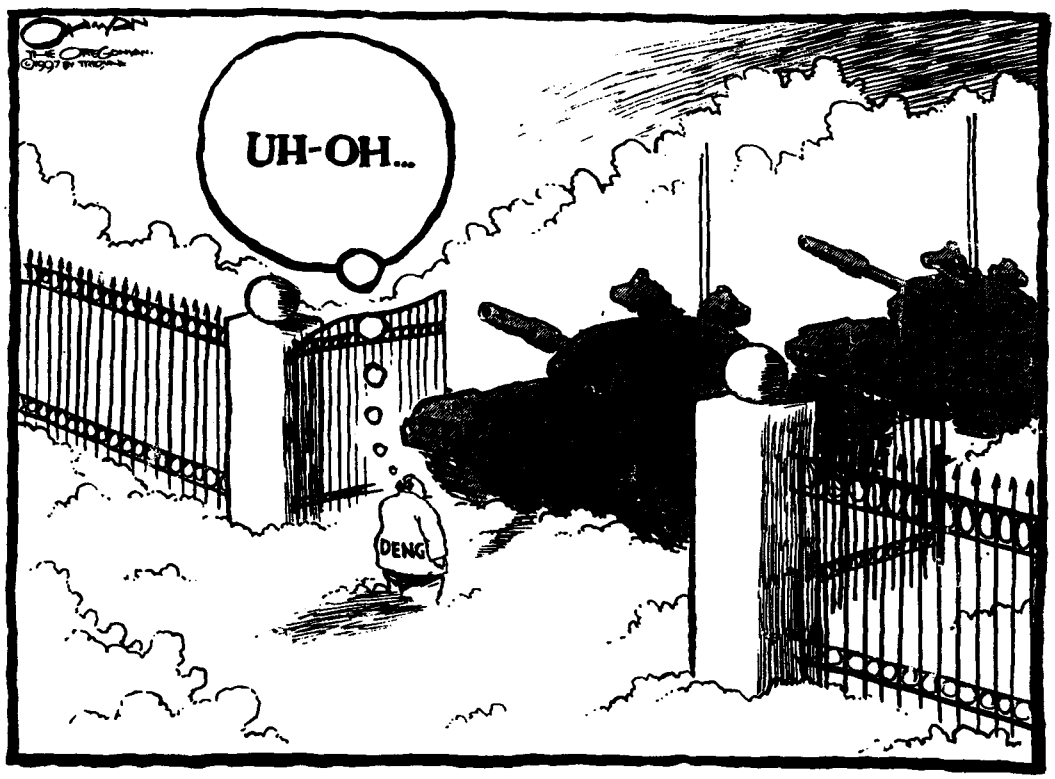
William Jefferson McGuffey

In first grade under Silent Cal
I shunned the boring and banal—
Books featuring a dopey duck.
Though still too young for Jim and Huck,
I sojourned some through Munchkinland
And, pushing seven, shoveled sand
In Treasure Island *with no drills*
From Hoover (by then popping pills).

—W. H. VON DREELE

"All right, fellas—now a big smile!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1997

Dear Rusty,

Boy, am I hopping mad! Oh man oh man! Hopping mad, that's what I am!

Sorry to vent like this, Rusty, but I just got off the phone with Harold Ickes, and let me tell you, that guy is no team player. Last week he released a bunch of memos that, when taken entirely out of context, seem to portray me and Bill as some kind of fund-raising crooks, when in actuality we are victims of a system that needs to be changed.

Do I condone the Lincoln Bedroom Sleepovers? No, of course not. But remember that only close personal friends of the President and future close personal friends of the President were invited to sleep over.

Yes, I did some calling around. And yes, the people I called eventually gave money to the DNC. And yes, I knew the Buddhists didn't have any money of their own. And yes, I know the Naval Observatory is government property and I'm not supposed to "solicit or receive funds" there.

But don't you see? The system creates this kind of murky grey area. Let's deal with the issue of the Naval Observatory, the official residence of the Vice President. In the first place, is it really "government property"? What is "government property" anyway? If we live under a government "of the people," then isn't the Naval Observatory really the "people's" property? And if the people want to contribute to the Democratic National Committee, who am I to stop them? Isn't that their constitutional right?

We shouldn't even call them "contributions," Rusty. We should call them "celebrations." Imagine some big scandal about "improper celebrations" and you can see the point. I tried to make it to Harold Ickes a few minutes ago, with very little success.

"Harold," I said to him as nicely as I could, "this kind of thing has got to stop. You can't go releasing every little scrap of paper to the press."

"And why not?" he asked, giving me a little bit of attitude. He caught me off guard. I'm old-fashioned: I like to think that when the Vice President of the United States tells you to do something, you do it.

"Well," I said, "in the first place, did you ever think about recycling them?" I admit, not a terrific response. But as I said, I was surprised.

"Al, I was only doing what you told me, remember? You said that we waste a lot of paper sending memos back and forth, so—let's see if I can remember your exact words—you said, 'Try to write a reply on the same sheet.' That creates a pretty unambiguous document, don't you think?"

"That's not the point, Harold."

"Then what is the point, Al?"

"The point is, you should give us some warning before sending these things out to the press."

"Gosh, I've been calling. I called all last week."

"You did?"

"I can't tell you how many messages I've left with Erskine Bowles."

"You know what? In the future, call me direct, okay?" I was exasperated and my voice showed it.

"Oh no, oh no," he said. "That would interfere with Erskine's 'efficient chain of command.' That's why you hired him, right? I mean, that's why he's in and I'm out, right? Right? And now, if you'll excuse me, I have some more memos to index."

"Wait a sec, Harold. C'mon, now. It's me here. It's Al. Look, I don't know what Bill promised you—"

"That I could be Deputy Chief of Staff."

"And how did that eventually shake itself out?"

"I'm not Deputy Chief of Staff."

"Whatever. Harold, what I'm saying is that you and I, we're fine, right? We've got no beef, right?" There was a pause. Harold was considering this.

"I guess not," was his tentative reply.

"So, Harold," I chuckled into the phone. "Do any of those memos have my handwriting on them?"

Harold chuckled back.

"I don't know," he drawled. "Maybe. Do you have a campaign director yet?"

I was chuckling too much to catch the implication and answered without thinking. "Probably Roy Neel. Why?"

"Wrong answer, Al."

"Wait, I thought you meant a campaign media director. But now that I see that you mean—"

"Good night, Al."

I was livid. I was furious.

"What is this," I cried, "a shakedown phone call?"

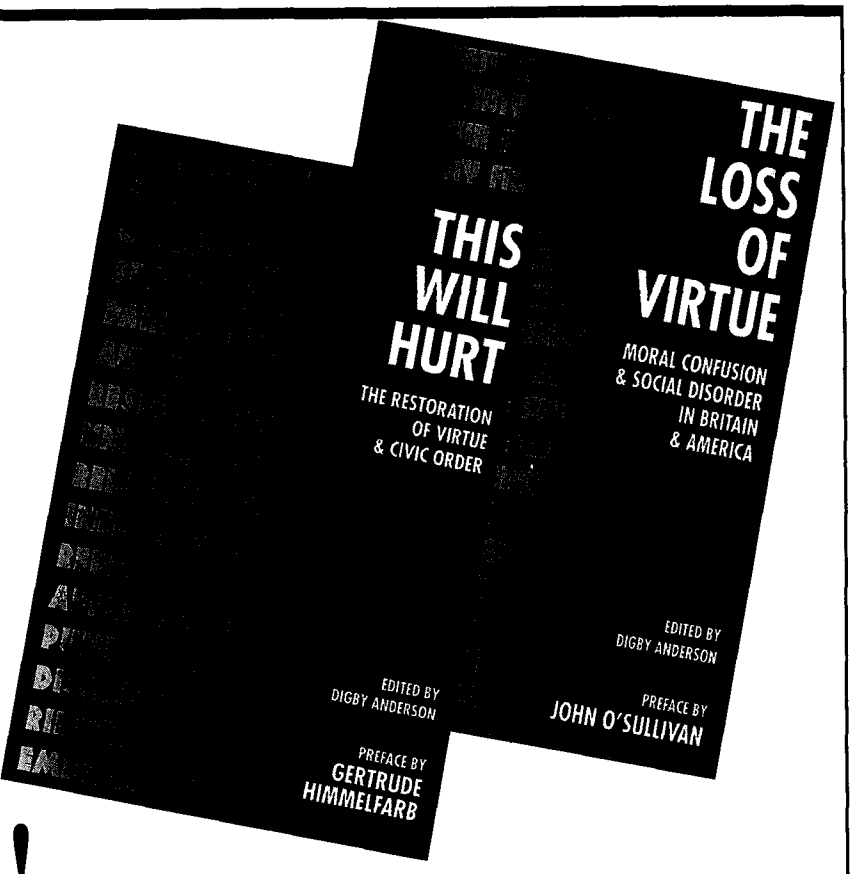
"You, of all people, should recognize one when you hear it," he said. And he slammed down the phone.

Now tell me, Rusty: does that befit the dignity of the Office of the Vice President of the United States?

Your pal, Al

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get Two of The Most Provocative Books of the Nineties—Both For Only $19.95!


THE LOSS OF VIRTUE
MORAL CONFUSION & SOCIAL DISORDER IN BRITAIN & AMERICA
EDITED BY DIGBY ANDERSON
PREFACE BY JOHN O'SULLIVAN
THIS WILL HURT
THE RESTORATION OF VIRTUE & CIVIC ORDER
EDITED BY DIGBY ANDERSON
PREFACE BY GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB

The award-winning ***The Loss of Virtue*** tells the painful story of how Western culture abandoned the critical core virtues—such as Honesty, Tolerance, Discretion, Trust, Diligence, Fortitude, Self-Control, and Fidelity—only to find itself mired in social disorder and moral confusion.

Its sequel, the critically acclaimed ***This Will Hurt***, prescribes the equally painful solutions—Stigma, Shame, Ridicule, Disgrace, Ostracism, Repression, Approbation, Public Punishment, and Embarrassment—which society must inflict upon its wayward members to restore virtue and civic order.

Now you can get both of these *National Review* classics—each a collection of hard-hitting, persuasive, and seminal essays from some of conservatism's most eminent social critics—for an incredibly low price.

If purchased separately, ***The Loss of Virtue*** ($17.95 in quality softcover) and ***This Will Hurt*** ($19.95 in the handsome hardcover edition) would cost—with shipping and handling—nearly $44.00.

But now, in this special offer, you can get both of these brilliant collections (edited by *NR* contributor Digby Anderson) for the incredibly low price of only $19.95 (after shipping and handling, you save a full 50 per cent!).

Considered "must" additions to any conservative library, these classic works—featuring the contributions of Rabbi Daniel Lapin, John Gray, Christie Davies, William Allen, Kenneth Minogue, and dozens of others—will prove to be the most unvarnished and fearless looks at society's sorry state: what has gone wrong, why, and what must be done to "fix" the problems (before they become unfixable!).

And who's to blame? If your answer is liberals and "progressives," you're right. ***The Loss of Virtue*** (with a preface by *NR* Editor John O'Sullivan) explains in gripping detail how years of relentless "social engineering" (which involved the intentional rejection and ridicule of virtues, and the replacement of them with countless "individual rights" and fuzzy values like "compassion" and "social justice") have resulted in the destruction of millions of lives and families.

This Will Hurt, featuring a preface by Gertrude Himmelfarb, describes the (to *liberals*) "cruel and unusual"—but necessary and unavoidable—measures society must take to see that this madness ends.

See that you don't pass on this incredible half-price offer. Get both ***The Loss of Virtue*** and ***This Will Hurt*** for only $19.95. Order today!

YES, please send me _____ sets of ***This Will Hurt*** and ***The Loss of Virtue*** @ $19.95 (for both books, plus $4.00 to cover shipping and handling). I enclose $ _____. Send to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check Bill My: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Signature _____

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Make checks payable to *National Review*.
Mail to: National Review/V2,
215 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016
Foreign Orders add $4.00 per set.
NY residents add appropriate sales tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Rising Son

JAMES BOWMAN

TO David Horowitz's comparison of himself with Whittaker Chambers in the Prologue to this absorbing memoir, I found myself reacting with irritation. Who did this New Left apostate and former editor of *Ramparts* think he was? But the further I read in his book, the more I was persuaded that the comparison is fair enough. It was not that I came to believe that a life spent among overgrown children playing at revolution bore the same moral weight, either of guilt or of penitence, as one spent in the Communist underground between the two world wars. Nor was there anything in Horowitz's life to compare with Chambers's personal agony—quite independent of the venom with which he was treated by his former comrades—at turning informer. Indeed, there is an unintendedly comic aspect to Horowitz's account of his hapless personal life, as when someone expects strangers to accord his private misfortunes the same seriousness that he himself does. A little humor, a little ironic distance, would have done this book a world of good.

Radical Son: A Generational Odyssey, by David Horowitz (Free Press, 468 pp., $27.50)

But Horowitz does have something of Chambers's quality of soul. For the immense seriousness with which he takes himself—a quality common to both Left and Right versions—does have its good side, from the reader's point of view. This is the tremendous political honesty and sincerity he is able to bring to his self-examination. Here is the testimony of a genuine penitent which avoids, to a remarkable extent, the self-serving disingenuousness of most autobiographies without sacrificing any of the self-dramatization. In this it is a kind of post-modern version of Chambers's *Witness* or even of the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine. And if the events and personalities with which Horowitz was involved loomed less large on the world-historical stage than the great tragedy of the century, the Communist illusion, to which Hiss–Chambers was a subplot, the part Horowitz played in the Panthers 'n' Weathermen Follies was a bigger one.

Bonnie T. Gardner

The subtitle also points up the extent to which Horowitz regards his lineal connection to the earlier struggle as being central. His parents were both Communists, and he was raised in the faith in a "progressive" enclave of Queens called Sunnyside Gardens. His political education started when he was still in elementary school, and he was in junior high school when his father lost his job as a schoolteacher under New York's Feinberg Law (which sought to exclude Communists from the teaching profession) in 1952. His mother also lost her job, and the sense of his parents as victims of the "McCarthyite witch-hunt" was of great importance in marrying the political to the personal in his own life. After the High School of Music and Art in Manhattan and Columbia University, he found himself as a young man in the midst of "the radical upsurge of the Sixties," during which "'old Reds' like my parents became the heroes of the Cold War 'repression.'"

For several years of his early manhood, when he was starting a family, he lived in those socialist halfway houses, Sweden and Britain, but he never set foot in the countries of the Soviet bloc until after his conversion to conservative beliefs in the 1980s. The young radicals of his generation "wanted to be in the radical tradition, yet escape implication in its crimes." It was at this time that Horowitz wrote his first book, *Student*, which was to become one of the seminal documents of the New Left. But when in 1968 he returned from Britain to Berkeley, where he would go to graduate school and work at *Ramparts*, this bourgeois revolutionary intellectual with a wife and four children found himself an alien presence in the hippie culture of sex and drugs that prevailed in parts of California at the time. Though in other respects he joined in "the quest for authenticity" of other white radicals, this spiritual distance between him and the others provided a space in which his widely advertised "Second Thoughts" could later grow.

By the early Seventies, the antiwar movement had collapsed, which opened his eyes to its self-interested character, but the Communist version of the Cold War was becoming a part of our "national myth." It was a myth that it cost him dearly to stop believing in. One of his early political memories was of demonstrating against the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for espionage in 1953, and it marked an epoch

Mr. Bowman is American Editor of the Times Literary Supplement.

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in his conversion from his leftist beliefs when he learned in the late Seventies, to his great shock and amazement, that the couple were in fact guilty. The attitude of surprise is characteristic. It can also be seen in his reaction to the most important event in his conversion, the murder of a friend by Huey Newton and the Black Panthers. Again and again we see him reeling from the impact of learning that Newton or George Jackson or Elaine Brown was not an innocent idealist framed by the police but guilty, in fact, of far more than any of them was ever charged with, or that those who knew of their guilt continued publicly to defend them.

To Horowitz's comparison of himself with Whittaker Chambers, I found myself reacting with irritation.

There is a kind of childishness about this surprise which is itself surprising, as when Horowitz confides in a neighbor his first suspicions that his friend Betty Van Patter has been murdered by his own political allies:

> When I told my neighbor Joel Clark what I suspected about Betty's death, he shrugged and recalled what Dick Gregory, the black comedian and activist, had said after meeting with Huey and Eldridge: "They're thugs." He *knew*. Anger welled inside me. Why hadn't Joel said anything before? Why hadn't Charles? Or Troy? Why hadn't they warned me? The answer was clear: They did not want to be accused of betraying the Left. But there was another factor as well: They saw that I was blind, and therefore dangerous to trust.

Even now he does not consider the possibility that, so far from seeing him as blind, they had simply assumed that he knew what virtually everybody else knew about the Panthers from the start. Who could have supposed that he was so naïve as to have believed the Party line? That he was consistently so naïve is his most endearing and exasperating quality throughout the period when he was in the unwitting service of monstrous tyrannies, real or potential. It is as if either his intellectual bent or his Communist background made it necessary for him to learn *everything* about the real world from scratch. This learning process was, of course, a great nuisance to him, but it is the making of his book.

Another way in which the generational theme is important emerges in his account of the lifelong tension in his relationship with his father, who was one of those parents that set arbitrary standards their children can never meet. In a moment of candor late in his life, his father confesses to him that "I was jealous of you since the day you were born." This is not the only time when the Oedipal note is struck between them, and it suggests a personal counterpart of the political naïveté which it takes David Horowitz so unnaturally long to grow out of. It may be that it takes someone who is himself recovering from an epic case of arrested development really to understand the essentially infantile quality in the New Left—a quality still to be found in such now-respectable remnants of the movement as Todd Gitlin and Tom Hayden.

Horowitz here says of *Destructive Generation*, the book on the same theme which he co-wrote with Peter Collier, his longtime collaborator on both Left and Right:

> It was a call to our peers to grow up, finally, and undertake an accounting of what they had done. But it was just this reckoning that proved impossible. "One of the strongest holds the Sixties had on our generation," we explained in our introduction, "was its promise of eternal youth, a state of being that would never require a balance sheet of one's prior acts."

And he ends on the same note: "What radicals wanted was to be midwives to a world that was different from the one in which they were going to die. To be present at the creation and, in that way, forever young. It was time to grow up." But it is only he and not his fellow radicals who grows up. The others are left to dream up all the varieties of politically correct silliness and stultifying ideology that Horowitz's recent career, as editor of *Heterodoxy*, has been devoted to sniffing out. There is something sad about such a fate for one whose youthful ambition it was to be a political philosopher, an adapter of Marx, who could change the world with his ideas. And it is a measure of the times we live in that just growing up can be turned into such an epic tale. But what André Malraux said of Whittaker Chambers can also be said of David Horowitz: that he is "one of those who did not return from Hell with empty hands." □

Second Thoughts

MAGGIE GALLAGHER

KATIE Roiphe's latest book, *Last Night in Paradise*, is suffused with a longing for innocence, which she locates in the Sixties' naïve certainty that "bikinis from France, and the Pill, and nudity in movies, and honest and open marriages, and no-fault divorces would crystallize into the perfect society." However, being a post-modern girl, Miss Roiphe has an ironic attitude toward her own nostalgia: she knows that there is no turning back. Having been given a sexual license, she knows from personal experience that sexual repression is not the source of all human misery, and that unlimited sex will not solve all (or perhaps any) of our problems.

Last Night in Paradise is not an easy book to categorize. One is alternately repelled by the author's narrow Upper East Side provincialism and attracted by her hard-won personal insights into our current cultural quandaries about sex.

Imagine a bright, literary young woman—raised with four sisters by a married feminist mom (author Anne Roiphe) in a Manhattan brownstone, spending her adolescence (like everyone else she knows) hanging out "in Sheep Meadow in Central Park in the middle of the night smoking pot, looking at the stars," getting smashed on cheap liquor, and sleeping with boys—coming to grips, through sheerly personal reflec-

Miss Gallagher is an affiliate scholar at the Institute for American Values.

Last Night in Paradise: Sex and Morals at the Century's End, by Katie Roiphe (Little, Brown, 208 pp., $21.95)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion without assistance from any religious or moral tradition, with the question: What does sex mean?

In the Sixties sex was a thrillingly revolutionary act, a chance to vote with one's genitals for a new and better world. But soon sex with strangers became boringly bourgeois, a mere rite of passage for hip New York girls like Miss Roiphe, who by age 15 was "beginning

Soon sex with strangers became boringly bourgeois, a mere rite of passage for hip New York girls like Katie Roiphe.

to go to hotel bars and flirt with businessmen over whisky sours."

The attractiveness of AIDS, Miss Roiphe hazards, is that it gave back to sex what the Sixties stripped from it: consequences. If sex can kill you, then, at least, sleeping with someone means something. In some cases it may even mean you are willing to die for love.

Unprotected sex thus becomes the only illicit act, a metaphor (or a vehicle) for the experience of being swept away by love. Miss Roiphe points to a scene from a recent autobiographical movie, *Savage Nights*, acclaimed in France but panned by morally censorious American critics, in which an HIV-positive artist seduces a 17-year-old girl. She reaches down and tosses the condom away: "I want to share everything with you," the girl says huskily. "Even your disease."

It is not just bisexual French film directors afflicted with AIDS who feel the romance of unprotected sex. In a study of sex codes among inner-city white youths, the University of Pennsylvania's Patricia Stern notes that teens are unlikely to use condoms in steady relationships. "The most common reason for not using birth control among these youths," the scholar reports, "is that unprotected sex is a pledge of intimacy and trust which elevates 'f——' to 'making love.'"

Miss Roiphe is puzzled by the deeply moralistic response from those American critics to the French lyricism of *Savage Nights*; she attributes it to our current cultural obsession with avoiding risk. "The message," she writes, "was not really one that we wanted to hear: true love is not concerned with self-protection."

Perhaps. But there is a deeper reason the French movie did not entirely translate: The idea that romantic love involves a yearning for death (as Denis de Rougemont pointed out in *Love in the Western World*) is an old European tradition. In America, the end of romantic love has always been marriage.

There are still Americans who believe in this happy union of eros and domesticity. Miss Roiphe describes her lunch with a 26-year-old staffer for Concerned Women for America, a "secondary virgin" who after a few college flings has now determined to wait until marriage:

> I search her face for signs of regret. There are none. Christine's faith in the future is unlimited. She has turned her back on a world of divorce and affairs, sudden flashes of desire, instant passion . . . and the whole precarious and anarchic pursuit of pleasure. In its place she has something else: a sublime confidence in her reward. "God hasn't yet given me that special guy," she says, mixing King James with *Cosmopolitan*, but she is certain that He will.

Well, maybe He will or maybe He won't. God doesn't always send you what you think you want. The task of reconciling one's actual life with one's youthful dreams can be daunting.

But faced with Christine's decision to put her faith in love, Miss Roiphe admits, "I find myself infuriated. I suddenly want to convert her more desperately than she wants to convert me, although there are definitely times when I wish that, like Christine, I had a giant book that would tell me how to live my life instead of a copy of *Elle* to tell me how to kiss, *Anna Karenina* to tell me not to cheat on my husband, and a John Updike paperback to tell me how to go about it if I do."

"What could be wrong with freedom?" Miss Roiphe asks. "It's not the absence of rules exactly, the dizzying sense that we can do whatever we want, but the sudden realization that nothing we do matters."

That is a brilliant epitaph for the sexual revolution, and for the whole Sixties cult that tried to find meaning in the breaking of taboos. After the last taboo shatters, then what? But for the Katie Roiphes of the world, alas, there is no retreat, and no clear way of moving forward either. In the end Miss Roiphe is left with only the sad awareness of "how much we long for moral clarity and how impossible it is for us to have it." □

Half a Shoe

ROBERT L. PLUNKETT

BARBARA Dafoe Whitehead is best known for writing "Dan Quayle Was Right," an *Atlantic Monthly* article which stated forthrightly and convincingly that an absent parent is a tragedy for a child. In her new book, she tackles the subject of divorce, declaring that it blights the lives of children, hurts others, and is damaging to society in general.

The Divorce Culture is at once alarming and infuriating. Like "Dan Quayle Was Right," it brings the pro-family position before a left-wing audience. It is alarming because it reveals how dire the state of the American family is. It is infuriating because, in the end, Mrs. Whitehead shrinks from the implications of what she has written.

Mr. Plunkett is an attorney and educator. His article "Vow for Now," about no-fault divorce, appeared in NR *May 29, 1995.*

Her thesis is that in the 1960s marriage went from being seen as an obligation in which both spouses, their children, and society all had a stake, to a matter of personal choice. The idea that

The Divorce Culture, by Barbara Dafoe Whitehead (Knopf, 224 pp., $24)

divorce was something bad was replaced with the idea that divorce was just another way to seek personal fulfillment. This was the idea of "expressive divorce," divorce as mere self-expression, a choice no more momentous than changing houses or jobs.

Divorce, not marriage, became the symbol of a mature and accomplished personal identity. Divorce became a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

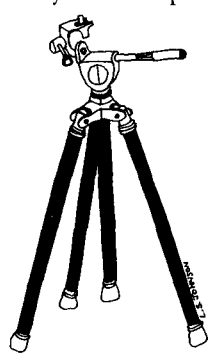
right. The only consequence of divorce that mattered was how it affected the person who chose to break up the marriage. The notion took hold that both spouses were at fault if one decided to divorce. A child who wanted his parents to stay together was dismissed like a child who wanted a pony. As Peter Mayle writes in *Why Are We Getting Divorced?*, children of divorce were told to "Try to forget how sad you are and remember how sad [your divorcing parents] are. Why don't you see if you can cheer them up instead of waiting for them to cheer you up?"

Mrs. Whitehead says we should treat our marriages the way we treat our family cars. But we already do: we love them when they work, and dump them when they don't work so well.

Mrs. Whitehead points out that divorce is more than a personal choice; it really *is* a momentous and terrible event. Divorce deeply and permanently damages children; the scars never go away. Indeed, divorce is more damaging to the child than the death of a parent. At least a dead father can remain a beloved role model in the child's mind, instead of "that awful man" (or worse). Divorce is a great creator of family poverty. It is the greatest cause of unequal opportunity for children.

The social consequences of our catastrophic divorce rate are even worse than I had thought before reading this book. The very idea of the family is disappearing. Reference works such as *The American Heritage Dictionary* are dropping ties of blood, marriage, or adoption from their definitions of the word family. A family is now merely a group of people who share goals and may or may not live together. Having been taught in the school of divorce that families break up and love is not forever, a generation may be losing the ability to fall in love.

However, having stated outright that American society cannot sustain our present rate of divorce without drastic social consequences, Mrs. Whitehead rejects every course of action that would have a reasonable chance of significantly lowering that rate. To her, liberal divorce laws had nothing to do with the rise of divorce, and changing the laws would be pointless or harmful. She ignores the evidence of her own statistics. Divorce rates have traditionally followed a two-decade up-and-down cycle. In our century, the rate approximately doubled in the 1920s compared to 1910; then in the 1930s it fell back to approximately the level of 1910. In the mid 1940s it doubled, and then it fell back to its 1930s level in the 1950s. It doubled once again in the 1960s but did not fall back. The difference between the first two cycles and the 1960s cycle was that no-fault divorce laws started to be enacted in 1970. The notion of expressive divorce made it possible to pass no-fault divorce laws, and no-fault divorce laws institutionalized the notion of expressive divorce.



Mrs. Whitehead also rejects the idea that shame or other types of social sanction with real bite should be employed against people who walk out on their commitments to a spouse and children. To her, divorcees deserve compassion and support. She rejects any idea that we should "return to an earlier era of American family life."

So, if we don't make divorces harder to get or apply social sanctions or resurrect the family, what do we do? The book advocates that we get better counseling and, to quote a dust-jacket blurb, pursue "a new consciousness about the meaning of commitment—changes that involve thinking and feeling." In other words, we should keep doing the kinds of things that got us into this mess in the first place.

Most of the time, divorce is a rational decision made by someone pursuing his self-interest at the expense of the interests of others. If that decision encounters no legal barriers and incurs no social disapproval, it will naturally remain a popular choice. Divorce rates will never fall much, if at all, unless a new consciousness is reinforced by action.

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead's refusal to reject certain left-wing assumptions prevents her from suggesting any meaningful countermeasures. Legal reform, social sanctions, and a return to family values are all politically incorrect. She compares the decision to divorce to the decision to buy a car (we should consider the bad consequences of both). She says we should treat our marriages the way we treat our family cars. But the problem is that we treat our marriages *exactly* the way we treat our family cars: we love them when they work well, and dump them when they don't work so well or when we can get something better.

When "Dan Quayle Was Right" came out, I wondered when the other shoe would drop—when another work from left of center would make it politically possible to attack divorce, the major cause of single-parent families. I'm still waiting. This is, at most, half a shoe. It is like a compelling call to arms written by an unreconstructed pacifist. Still, it is potentially a seminal work. It should change the thinking of many who favor or are neutral on divorce. It will be a valuable source book for those who oppose divorce. I hope and believe that the vast majority of those who read *The Culture of Divorce* will follow its call to arms and reject its illogical plan of virtual nonaction. □

Party Down

RAMESH PONNURU

RUMORS of the Democratic Party's resurrection are greatly exaggerated. Two presidential victories in a row cannot begin to compensate for the continued erosion of the party at every other level of office. For three election cycles now, Democrats have lost or barely held onto state house majorities, state senate majorities, governorships, and U.S. Senate seats. After

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the 1992 election, there were only 2 states where Republicans controlled both the executive and the legislative branch, compared to 17 for the Democrats. Now the Republicans control 12 states to the Democrats' 6. Losing the U.S. House, of course, has been the unkindest cut of all.

Figuring out what went wrong has become something of a cottage industry for academics and journalists. Ronald Radosh—not "Cardosh," as Bob Dole identified him during a presidential debate—offers a neoconservative explanation: the Democrats veered too far left in the late Sixties and early Seventies, particularly on social issues, thereby alienating large parts of the New Deal coalition. A distinguished historian, Radosh has done an impressive amount of digging through correspondence and diaries. He sheds new light on the 1964 Democratic Convention in Atlantic City. The New Left regarded the seating of the segregationist Mississippi delegation as evidence of white liberal perfidy. But Radosh persuasively argues that the compromise offered was reasonable and in good faith. Radosh is also illuminating on the New Politics Convention of 1967, the impact of the Vietnam War on the liberal–labor coalition, the Left's deliberate provocation of violence at the Chicago convention of 1968, and George McGovern's disastrous party rules changes.

Divided They Fell: The Demise of the Democratic Party, 1964–1996, by Ronald Radosh (Free Press, 298 pp., $25)

The Party's Not Over: A New Vision for the Democrats, by Jeff Faux (Basic, 260 pp., $24)

Left for Dead: The Life, Death, and Possible Resurrection of Progressive Politics, by Michael Tomasky (Free Press, 226 pp., $23)

Divided They Fell is not, however, well written. About McGovern, Radosh writes, "Thus, in speech after speech, he pledged to grant amnesty for Vietnam War resisters, a measure that at the time was more than unpopular, and let college students know he understood their desire to experiment with drugs like marijuana and to favor abortion rights for women." He refers at one point to Ronald Reagan's "deft conviction." When Radosh tries to show that his hero, Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson, was not a warmonger, he writes, "Jackson, in fact, voted for the Cooper–Church Amendment, because he opposed widening of the Vietnam conflict." And what was that amendment? Don't look for an answer in this book.

Radosh's analysis has its weaknesses too. The notion that centrist Republicans and Democrats passed NAFTA over the objections of "the left and right extremes of their own parties" is simplistic. Liberals weren't "aghast" at Governor Clinton just because he allowed the execution of "a convicted cop-killer" during the 1992 primaries; the convict was severely brain-damaged and didn't even realize he was to be executed. A larger lapse is the absence from Radosh's narrative of the effects that changing social and economic conditions had on the New Deal coalition. In his introduction Radosh writes, "It is time . . . for a political history of the Democratic Party's fall from grace; one that reveals and explains the reasons for its slow decline." His book isn't it.

PERHAPS because they're both writing from within the Left, Jeff Faux and Michael Tomasky—the former the head of a labor–Left think tank, the latter a left-wing journalist—have written more interesting books. Both recognize the importance of the 1994 elections. Both urge Democrats to return to the class struggle—advice Tomasky peppers with disparaging references to "the people who own this country" and "the ruling class." Both consider it politically essential that government programs cover not just the downtrodden but also the middle class, as in single-payer health care. And both seek immigration curbs, not only for the standard left-wing economic reasons but also to preserve what Faux calls America's "common, if evolving, culture." Both are liberal nationalists. They differ, however, in their analyses of liberal decline.

Faux has written a polemic against neoliberals and New Democrats who have abandoned the party's old verities: "Government, which stood proudly at center stage" of "the Democratic story," is now "something to be apologized for, reinvented, or denied." Faux unapologetically advocates wage and price controls, easy money, renewable energy, defense cuts, and even bracket creep: in other words, the Greatest Hits of the 1970s. And oh yes, a transaction tax on the "global casino" of financial markets. The only bad idea missing is pension-fund socialism, which is probably an oversight.

Faux's attachment to statism is not just programmatic: he regards the Federal Government as the instrument and expression of "national community," even chastising environmentalists for their decentralizing rhetoric. Faux reveals a basic disdain for the private sector, in contrast, when he posits a trade-off between public-sector "investments" in education and private-sector investment in "chewing-gum machines."

Rumors of the Democratic Party's resurrection are greatly exaggerated.

Faux wants to revive liberal interest in macroeconomics. While conservatives tend to think of the economy in organic terms, for him the economy is "a powerful engine" that needs "brakes, thermostats, steering wheels, and so on." Liberals are no longer in the driver's seat because they fell for a Reaganite "trap." Like Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Faux regards the expansion of the federal deficit in the Eighties as a deliberate ploy to shrink government. When in mid 1995 Clinton endorsed balancing the budget by a time certain, Faux writes, "The trap snapped shut on sixty years of liberal progress." He should relax. A balanced budget is compatible with any level of federal spending, and liberals can always use regulations and mandates to build their coalitions. Faux is on firmer ground when worrying that unregulated international trade threatens social-democratic aspirations.

Tomasky addresses himself more narrowly to the Left, which he faults for its focus on "identity politics" and neglect of the "collective good." On the political consequences of separatism, for instance, he writes, "No matter which side builds the wall, it ends up in the same place." (If Faux's book has more hard-

Mr. Ponnuru is NR*'s national reporter.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

headed political analysis, Tomasky's has more zip.) Given this stance, it's not surprising that Tomasky would question Left orthodoxy on racial preferences. Like Alexander Cockburn and Michael Lind, he suspects the policy is a corporate plot to split the working class on racial lines. All his hand-wringing, however, leads to the tepid suggestion that class be added to "a formula that continues to rely on race, gender, and ethnicity to some extent."

Tomasky's thoughts are nonetheless sufficiently heretical that he must defend his left flank a lot. So liberal anti-Communism was "madness," Henry Wallace was misunderstood, and "The 1950s, of course, were a dark hole." He scolds his allies for automatically imputing racism to conservative critics of affirmative action or welfare—one of the contemporary Left's most irritating features—and then does it himself. The worst thing Tomasky can say about Louis Farrakhan is that his "elevation . . . is the best present the Christian Coalition and the Liberty Lobby could ever hope to receive" (whatever that means). This tactic reaches its comic apogee when Tomasky advises the Left to support gun rights "and watch, incidentally, as the National Rifle Association's position diminishes."

Tomasky's economic agenda for the Left is slightly less ambitious than Faux's. Although he sees "a corporate world ruled by dishonesty and cupidity, whose aims are fundamentally at odds with the needs of most working people," he has no plan to overthrow it. He wants mandatory on-site day care at large workplaces, subsidized day care everywhere else, a crackdown on discrimination in lending and housing, and a shorter work week (in effect "solving" unemployment by socializing it). "Trade agreements like NAFTA are probably inevitable," he writes, but the Left should insist on "provisions like an equalization tax on certain imports, so that goods made cheaply in the Third World cannot be imported to undersell the same goods that are made here more expensively"—a demand that suggests that Tomasky is a little unclear on the concept of trade liberalization.

Faux and Tomasky may well be correct to suggest that class warfare can still yield political benefits for liberal Democrats. Conservatives like to say that everyone in America considers himself middle class, but Faux observes that that's the case only when "working class" isn't an option. One flaw of the Left's agenda, at least as presented by Faux, is that it's premised on a lot of gloom and doom about the economy. If conditions aren't as bad as he says—and they're not—they won't generate the political reactions for which he hopes.

More importantly, neither writer examines Democratic weaknesses on social/moral issues. Tomasky makes a stab at it, criticizing the Left's denigration of menial jobs and attempt to expand the welfare rolls as a political tactic. Faux seems to view social liberalism as a political liability that has created an image of the Democrats as "an alliance between the destitute and the fashionable"; hence his desire to keep middle-class voters thinking about their entitlements. But social issues aren't going to disappear, and people, like Faux and Tomasky, who can't refer to values without quotation marks are unlikely to address them successfully.

So if Faux and Tomasky have each found a piece of the puzzle—Democrats and liberalism would be better off abandoning "identity politics," and left-populist economics probably still has potential mass appeal—other pieces are beyond their grasp. But Democrats need not join Radosh in despair for the future of their party. Bill Clinton seems to be guiding the Democrats toward social centrism coupled with a defense of government programs that benefit working people. It's not a perfect formula, but the evidence to date suggests that Mr. Clinton is more politically astute than any of these authors. □

Boomer Humor

JONATHAN FOREMAN

AT THE end of our phone call I asked the genial fellow who assigns book reviews for *NR* if Christopher Buckley was in any way related to the illustrious founder of the magazine. "Oh, he's his son," came the reply. I then jokingly asked if that meant I had to give the book a good review. There was a silence and then what sounded like a harrumph before my interlocutor hung up.

Glowing with the integrity for which book reviewers are famous, I resolved to read the book over the weekend and, if it was no good, to return it to the editor claiming that I had injured both wrists in a snowboarding accident. But I couldn't help wondering why anyone willingly writes book reviews. They pay very little for a great deal of work, and you run the risk of either making powerful enemies or earning a reputation as a logroller and a suck-up.

Fortunately, *Wry Martinis* turned out to be one of those rare assignments that make being a book reviewer seem like less of a raw deal. I chortled so loudly on the subway that a crowd of puffy-jacketed, baggy-jeaned teenagers moved to the other end of the car. I had read Christopher Buckley's stuff in *The New Yorker* and decided he was rather hit-and-miss. But this ten-year collection reveals a satirist at the top of his form, the best of the baby-boomer humorists.

To be funny in the way that Buckley is requires more than literary talent and good comic timing. You have to care about things. But not care so much that your sense of humor fails. This is one reason why you rarely see anything really funny in, say, *The Nation* or *The Weekly Standard*, especially when such magazines are trying their hardest to be satirical.

Wry Martinis, by Christopher Buckley (Random House, 288 pp., $20)

Buckley is a Republican but, like P. J. O'Rourke, not an orthodox one. Indeed, he is not an orthodox anything. This is why conservative true believers feel uneasy about him—in the same way that liberal true believers have their doubts about Garry Trudeau. Buckley's imagined "three-martini debate" between Clinton and Bush (published in *The New Yorker*) is hilarious, a classic of its kind. But a hard-core partisan wouldn't have been able to resist the temptation to give one candidate all the good lines, or to make him sober while the other one collapsed.

Mr. Foreman is a writer in New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In fact, unpredictability and variety are Christopher Buckley's hallmarks. This collection includes interviews with his mother and with Ann Landers, and mock letters to Theodore Kaczynski, the Unabomber suspect, from counselors Johnnie Cochran, Alan Dershowitz, and Gerry Spence. Then there are the personal essays. My favorites were the ones in which Buckley described the joys of pulling nine Gs in an F-16—he threw up only five times—and his disastrously expensive efforts to air-condition his Washington, D.C., study. But Buckley is best at pure satire—like his wonderful spoof of the *New York Times* best-seller list and the transcript of phone sex between the Prince of Wales and his mistress which hints at an unusual use for Marmite, the infamous English sandwich spread.

Buckley has a soft spot for the military and feels guilty about not going to Vietnam though he genuinely failed the physical. But this doesn't stop him from making deliciously cruel fun of Tom Clancy and his techno-thrillers. Nor does his Republicanism make him unwilling to skewer Big Business. When a tobacco-company flack defends her work to him, he comes back with, "Of course: the Yuppie Nuremberg defense: I vas only paying ze mortgage." And some airlines' decision to circulate less fresh air into airplane cabins inspires him to draft a memorandum suggesting that more money be saved by "adding a mixture of sawdust and polyethylene foam to the food." In his imaginary focus groups "it was determined that only 3 per cent noticed they were eating wood and plastic instead of the standard fare."

Satirical humor flows from anger in the defense of something the writer thinks is important. What gives satire its force is its implicit ideas of the way the world should be. Buckley's targets are therefore a pretty good guide to his values, literary as well as moral and political. Like Orwell, he particularly detests the despoliation of language by hucksters or politicians or those who would make the Bible more politically correct. And Buckley is well placed to hurl linguistic thunderbolts; his own writing is never anything but gin clear.

In the introduction to *Wry Martinis*, Buckley worries about the title. But I can assure the reader that it is spot-on. These pieces are dry, sharp, and smooth, and once you've had one you need another right away. □

FILM

But Is It Art?

JOHN SIMON

I HAVE written about movies for 34 years now, but seldom about documentaries: writing about feature films is criticism; about documentaries, journalism. A critic analyzes and evaluates; a journalist reports and, at best, opines. There is nothing wrong with that, of course, but I find it less interesting than grappling with questions of art.

Some artistic criteria, to be sure, extend to the documentary or, as some prefer to call it, the nonfiction film. By any name, however, such a film has to be judged finally by different standards: the documentary can be artistic but must address the facts; the fiction film may incorporate facts but must, above all, be art. (Let us ignore what film usually is: mere entertainment, if that.)

So I have trouble assigning the status of art even to the greatest documentaries, whether by Lorenz or Flaherty, Ophuls or Riefenstahl, Vertov or Sucksdorff, Grierson or Cavalcanti, Eisenstein or Dovzhenko. These filmmakers were artists in their temperaments and (perhaps) methods, and, if they made them, their features. But in documentaries, the free play of the imagination was denied them.

Is, then, to use a literary analogy, a biography never a work of art? Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*? Johnson's own *Lives of the Poets*? They are certainly great pieces of writing by genuine men of letters, but art? No. Johnson's novel, *Rasselas*, is pretty sorry stuff; Walter Pater's attempts at fiction fall well short of his essays. Speaking of essays: what about Montaigne, Emerson, Nietzsche? Almost, almost; but not, I think, quite.

Take what I consider the greatest documentary of recent times, Marcel Ophuls's *The Sorrow and the Pity*. Ophuls wanted to get at the essence of French World War II resistance or collaboration, heroism or cowardice—or, if not cowardice, acquiescent self-protection. He picked a typical French provincial city, Clermont-Ferrand in central France, a place that, perhaps because of its grandiose name, has often been ridiculed in French farce. There Ophuls interviewed everyone conceivable; he also tracked down Allied and German military personnel who served there, as well as the leading statesmen of the epoch. Patiently, incisively, artfully, he mosaicized the city's wartime history, shooting at least 15 times the footage he could use. The final version lasts four and a half hours, not one minute of it less than riveting.

As with all documentaries, choices had to be made: the filmmaker-interviewer's position, for all his striving to be objective, colors things; so does the sequence and rhythm of the data presented. One could argue that almost as much creative shaping goes into such a documentary as into a fiction film. Well, more than into a documentary about beekeeping or glassblowing, and my admiration for it is boundless; even so, I cannot call it art. It may be more or less than art—history, for example—but just not art. And does that really matter? Only, perhaps, to a critic, who must, however grudgingly, put nonfiction, including his own writing, on a lower level than that occupied by poets, playwrights, and novelists.

These thoughts arose apropos of ***When We Were Kings***, a documentary about the George Foreman–Muhammad Ali heavyweight world-championship fight, which took place in Zaïre, the former Congo, in 1974. The film has been nominated for an Oscar—as my favorite of the year, *Microcosmos*, was not—and is expected to win. That, in itself, is significant: extraneous, often sentimental, factors play a greater role in the judging of documentaries, making those Academy Awards even more dubious than the rest. A film about Michael Jackson or Michael Jordan can be no less or no more fine than one about a major diplomat, scientist, or artist, but will automatically take precedence, as if the contest were between a statesman and a dogcatcher.

Thus, given that *Kings* concerns sport

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(probably the most beloved American activity), given that it shows two black boxers going back to their roots, given that big racial issues lurk in the background, given that the outcome was a huge upset in which an adulated aging underdog knocked out a younger but unpopular favorite, given that the event was surrounded by a pop-music festival featuring the likes of James Brown, B. B. King, and Miriam Makeba, there is every reason to assume that it will beat out the competition, however worthy or even superior.

This is too bad, because I consider *Kings* ultimately standard stuff, except for the effort it took Leon Gast to bring it to fruition. Twenty-two years of gestation, successive differently slanted versions, and various legal problems rather overshadow the actual result. That may have to do with Gast's specializing in pop-music documentaries, or with the passage of decades since the event, or—I cannot deny it—with my limited interest in boxing.

As an injury to Foreman delayed the bout by six weeks, there was, it seems to me, a chance to do more with Zaïre under its still ruling dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko; with the contrasts between two freshly juxtaposed cultures; and with the attrition of the long wait. Some of this is in the film, but most of it comes from the newly added commentaries of Norman Mailer and George Plimpton, who were there covering the event, and Spike Lee, who was not. As shot by the Hollywood director Taylor Hackford, what they say is not without interest, is indeed necessary, but an overwhelming element of moralizing hindsight inevitably impedes the forward flow. And though the emphasis is understandably on the much more charismatic Ali, whose earlier boxing history and life are duly chronicled, the relative shortchanging of Foreman, including passing over his troubled youth, contributes to the imbalance.

To be sure, there are arresting passages: seeing Ali dazzlingly work a crowd of Zaïrians, watching Foreman punch a watermelon-sized dent into a heavy punching bag, observing the antithetical personalities of the two fighters. The supporting cast, too, is of substantial interest: the manipulations of the shady but spectacular fight promoter Don King; the performing of such singers and musicians as James Brown, B. B. King, and Miriam Makeba (even if their kind of music leaves me cold); and the fleeting but chilling glimpses of the despot Mobutu, whom Don King got to cough up $10 million to be evenly divided between the contestants. Mobutu never showed up for the fight in the literally bloody arena, which also serves as a prison and place of execution, but watched on his own closed-circuit television, the only one in Zaïre. Never fear, though: an enormous image of him in his jaunty leopard-skin cap dominated the stadium.

Yet perhaps the most undercutting aspect of the film is that Ali's opponent was also black, even if Ali was the only one to emerge as a champion of the black race in America. Observing the taciturn, unsmiling Foreman (as he was then), with his white-supremacist police dog in tow, disturbingly reminds one of the vast contribution of Africa's blacks to their brethren's enslavement.

Fascinating, too, is how much one loose thread can jar. Plimpton recalls that a witch doctor predicted that a woman with trembling fingers would cause Foreman's defeat. This was taken as a reference to a succubus. But what is a succubus in Zaïre: a dream or a reality? The film keeps superimposing the singing and swaying Miriam Makeba on that woman-with-trembling-fingers talk. Surely she is not the succubus? And one last question: Why *Kings* in the plural, preceded by that *We*? Perhaps what is meant is B. B. and Don. □

DELECTATIONS

Head above the Clouds

A. TAPPEN SOPER

IF you want to fly from coast to coast in one day in a small airplane, you need an early start. It was five in the morning when I drove to the airport near Southport, a small town on the North Carolina coast. My destination was San Diego, some 2,300 miles to the west. The small airport was deserted and dark, and so I left the car running with the headlights shining on my airplane for the preflight inspection. If anything was amiss, I wanted to find it out there on the ground rather than a little later in the air.

The object of my inspection was something of an endangered species: a new American-made single-engine airplane. The explosion of product-liability cases and horrendous jury awards in the 1980s just about wrecked the U.S. light-plane industry. It has been said with some accuracy that 25 lawyers put 25,000 aircraft workers out of their jobs. Cessna threw up its hands and stopped making piston-engine aircraft, and Piper was forced into bankruptcy. One of the manufacturers that managed to survive was Mooney Aircraft of Kerrville, Texas. I bought one of their planes in 1994. A not insignificant part of the price went to cover their liability insurance, in effect a cash tribute to the trial lawyers. My plane, a bright red and white Mooney MSE, is capable of speeds up to 200 miles per hour on only 200 horsepower, making it one of the most efficient light airplanes in the world. It was made for cross-country travel, and this day I would give it a good test of that capability.

Once the plane was ready I used the pay phone on the field to call Flight Service to get my clearance for the first leg of the flight. Since there was a solid layer of cloud at five hundred feet, an instrument clearance would be required; in any case, I planned to fly under positive control and radar observation all the way. At that hour obtaining a clearance was no problem; I was given the routing and altitude I had requested.

Small airports don't leave their runway lights on all night, but rather set them to turn on in response to a radio transmission. After starting up I clicked the transmitter and saw my path to the runway outlined by blue lights. With the wind out of the north I followed the lights to the south end of the field. After completing my pre-takeoff checks I turned the airplane to line up with the runway, noted the time (5:41), took a deep breath, and advanced the throttle to full power. Light airplanes accelerate quickly, and only a few seconds passed before I reached 70 miles an hour,

Mr. Soper is a writer in Lyme, Connecticut.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raised the nose, and easily left the ground. Soon I was in the clouds.

Flying in the clouds in daytime feels like being inside a milk bottle. At night it's like an ink bottle. By the dim lights of the instrument panel, I could see nothing except the interior of the plane. The human brain is incapable of guiding a plane in controlled flight without reference to the horizon or to instruments that replicate it. I concentrated on those instruments while I climbed straight ahead to two thousand feet and turned west toward Florence, South Carolina, my first waypoint.

At five thousand feet I broke out of the clouds into a world known only to pilots. A bright moon ahead illuminated a flat sea of stratus underneath me, while over my shoulder the first light of the sun was now visible behind a palisade of cumulus over the coast. At six thousand, my assigned altitude, I leveled off, switched on the autopilot, and watched the air speed build to a cruising level of 190 miles per hour.

An hour later, as I crossed the Georgia border, the sun appeared behind me shining directly on the instrument panel. The stratus layer had broken up below, and I could see the Great Smoky Mountains ahead in the distance. I continued across Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi to arrive in Memphis at 8:30 A.M. Central Time. Memphis is a major airport serving airlines, Federal Express, and corporate jets. I approached it cautiously, knowing that the disturbed air behind a large jet can throw a small airplane out of control, with fatal results. I was able to land during a break in traffic and happily discovered a deli next to the refueling base: I would be spared the typical pilot's lunch of vending-machine crackers.

My departure was not well timed: I found myself in the middle of a line of Northwest jets headed for the runway. After some delay I was cleared to take off directly behind a DC-9. I would have been within my rights asking for a delay; but, not wanting to hold up the parade, I put on the power and turned away from the runway toward Little Rock as soon as the wheels left the ground in order to avoid the jet wake.

My next stop was Amarillo. The land rises as you reach the middle of the country, and I climbed to eight thousand feet on this leg to get above a haze layer and maintain a comfortable height above the terrain. The sun caught up with me in a clear sky over the high plains of western Oklahoma and warmed the cockpit. I was able to refuel and leave Amarillo in forty minutes for the next leg to Phoenix.

Mountains along my route across New Mexico and Arizona rise to ten thousand feet, and so I chose twelve thousand for my cruising level. To avoid physiological problems I used a nasal cannula to draw oxygen from a portable bottle. Oxygen is not legally required at that altitude, but symptoms of oxygen insufficiency include a feeling of euphoria, and I wanted to be sure to remain level-headed. Near Albuquerque, afternoon showers and thundershowers were developing. These appeared as a series of cumulo-nimbus with bases a thousand feet above me skirted with white curtains of rain reaching to the ground. Lightning flashes were occasionally visible in the rain. Neither the rain nor the lightning represented a threat, but an encounter with hail would spoil the day, and so, with the approval of Albuquerque Center, I diverted left and right of course to avoid the showers. Airliners on the frequency asking for deviations around major cloud buildups told me that there was worse weather higher up. The showers ended north of Phoenix, and I flew over the pastel waters of Roosevelt Lake under clear skies before descending steeply into the Phoenix area to land at Deer Valley Airport.

At five thousand feet I broke out of the clouds into a world known only to pilots.

Only a little over three hundred miles of the journey remained. Phoenix Departure Control vectored me over the center of the city before sending me on course to Gila Bend to the southwest. From there I flew along the border past Yuma and El Centro. Two hours later the sun was low in the sky ahead, causing me to put on my darkest sunglasses before I contacted San Diego Approach and began my final letdown. As I descended over the coastal mountains I could see only the peaks, which appeared as blue islands in a sea of white haze. Final approach to Montgomery Field was directly into the sun, and so I couldn't see the runway until I was only a mile out. The wheels touched the ground at 6:47 P.M. Pacific Time, just minutes before sunset. Sixteen hours had passed since I left North Carolina. A little over thirteen of those had been spent in the air flying low enough to see the texture of the earth. I could think of no better way to gain a deeper appreciation of the breadth and diversity of our magnificent land. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Darwin's Athletes: How Sport Has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race, by John Hoberman (Houghton Mifflin, 341 pp., $23.95)

LIKE most cultural-studies professors, Mr. Hoberman denounces as "racist" any who doubt that all ethnic differences have purely social origins. He rushes into one topic, though, where his allies fear to tread: Dredging up various historical data, he tries to show that the increasingly apparent link between race and athletic success somehow stems solely from cultural conditioning. His struggles with the evidence recall the old joke about the Soviet worker on the Leningrad Baby Buggy Factory's receiving dock. Unable to buy a buggy anywhere, he pilfers a set of parts. Sadly, the only way they turn out to fit together is as a machine gun. Likewise, Mr. Hoberman ends up strafing himself in the foot with his own theoretical baby buggy. Revealingly, he deplores integrated sports precisely *because* they "create the proverbial level playing field." Letting us fans watch lean East Africans outdistance the rest of the world's runners, or brawny Samoans flatten NFL quarterbacks, or lithe Chinese dive and tumble for Olympic gold, or muscular athletes of West African descent out-sprint, outjump, and out-hit all comers—well, it just encourages us couch potatoes to believe our lying eyes rather than the visions of the anointed, such as Mr. Hoberman. —STEVE SAILER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunities

GET PAID FOR READING BOOKS! $100 each. Send name, address to: Calco Publishing (Dept. C-103), 22 North Plains, Wallingford, Conn. 06492.

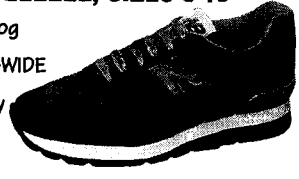
CAREER BURNOUT? Home health business, serious income. Free information: 800-925-2494.

$1000s POSSIBLE READING BOOKS. Part Time. At Home. Toll Free 800-218-9000, Ext. R-3013 for Listings.

Hotels

HOTEL Bedford
Your Key To New York
118 E. 40th Street, New York, NY 10016
Between Park and Lexington Avenues...on Manhattan's fashionable East Side. Ideally located for business, Fifth Avenue Shops, Entertainment and Fine Dining.
Special National Review Rates
Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)
FAX (212) 697-1093

For Sale

MEN'S WIDE SHOES
EEE-EEEEEE, SIZES 5-13

• FREE catalog
• 1-800-992-WIDE
• High quality
• 160 styles
Name
Address
City State Zip
HITCHCOCK SHOES, INC.
Dept. 12C Hingham, MA 02043

SEIZED CARS FROM $175. Porsches, Cadillacs, Chevys, BMWs, Corvettes. Also Jeeps, 4WDs. Your area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. A-3013 for current listings.

Literary

LOVED GOLDWATER? For a major new book on his 1964 campaign, seeking recollections from activists or anyone else. perlstein@aol.com; 718-499-4539; 295 Seventh Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215.

SOCIAL SECURITY, IMPORTANT INFORMATION affecting your benefits. Send $15 for book. Ensign Enterprise, Suite 40, 333 Palos Verdes Blvd., Redondo Beach, Calif. 90277.

ONE POLICEMAN'S POETRY, somewhat philosophical, 30-day refund, $10. Childress, P. O. Box 1494, La Mirada, Calif. 90637-1494.

DO YOU HAVE A BOOK TO PUBLISH?
Pentland Press, Inc.
USA • ENGLAND • SCOTLAND
Send manuscript for evaluation. Co-operative publisher can arrange the editing, design, publication, promotion, warehousing and distribution of your book.
5124 Bur Oak Circle, Raleigh, NC 27612
1-800-948-2786

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

NEW AUTHORS
PUBLISH YOUR WORK
All subjects considered:
Fiction, Biography, Poetry, Religion, Children's
AUTHORS WORLDWIDE INVITED
Write, or send your manuscript to:
MINERVA PRESS
2 OLD BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON SW7 3DQ, ENGLAND

Real Estate

23 ACRES (16 with conservation easement to Peconic Land Trust) of virgin, residential woodland/salt marsh, west bank Nissequogue River, Smithtown, Long Island, for sale by owner, $690,000. Call 516-742-5150. Ideal for a libertarian conservative owning three Newfoundland water dogs, wishing to build her/his own house and enjoy rare privacy.

GOV'T FORECLOSED HOMES for pennies on the $1. Delinquent Tax, Repo's, REO's. Your Area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. H-3013 for current listings.

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

CHRISTIAN AMERICAN HETEROSEXUAL PRO-LIFE RIGHT-WING CONSERVATIVE
Visit our website: www.pioonline.com
Politically Incorrect Apparel!
T-Shirts $14.95, Coffee Mugs $8.95, Stickers $2.95
HOW TO ORDER: Style #101, Specify Size, S-XL. ADD $2.50/ea. for XXL. ADD $7.00/ea. for sweatshirts. ADD Shipping ($3.50 1st item & $1.50 for addl. items) For Stickers shipping is free. (CA Res. add 7.75% Sales Tax.)
Politically Incorrect Apparel or PIA,
P. O. Box 20441, Dept.-NR3, Riverside, CA 92516
1-800-70-RIGHT

FREE BUMPER STICKERS! Four different slogans, each concerned with recovery from compulsive over-governing. Dave Polewka, P. O. Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

Religion

LOOKING FOR A CHURCH that still teaches traditional values? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616.

STUDY THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN FAITH (courses designed especially for laity): Correspondence Studies Division, St. Athanasius Academy of Orthodox Theology, 10519 E. Stockton Blvd., Suite 170, Elk Grove, Calif. 95624. Phone 916-686-6230. Fax 916-686-6232.

Educational Opportunities

DOCTORAL DEGREES
Accredited, 1-2 years. 1 month Residency.
Business, Education, Government, International Relations, Psychology, Religion, Social Work, Health Services.
Write: Berne University, P. O. Box 1080, Wolfeboro Falls, N.H. 03896. Call: 603-569-8648. Fax: 603-569-4052. E-Mail: berne@berne.edu

LEARN MORE SPANISH
◆ WORLD NEWS MAGAZINE
◆ INTERMEDIATE SPANISH MONTHLY
◆ GLOSSARY IN EVERY ISSUE
◆ $25 PER YEAR (12 ISSUES)
FREE BROCHURE: SAMPLE ARTICLES!
EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
PO Box 60478-NR, Florence, MA 01060
1-800-600-4494 • info@ednews.com

Financial

Add Balance To Your Portfolio

• FREE Gold Investors Guide
• Largest Selection of Precious Metals
• America's only Full Service Discount Gold Firm
800-366-7925
MERRITT FINANCIAL

LEARN HOW TO DISINHERIT THE IRS and at the same time make a fortune with the most powerful wealth-building opportunity in the world today! 800-995-0796 (Ext. 2829).

Travel

RATS!!!—You'd *love* to go on *NR*'s 1997 Alaska Cruise, but you just can't afford the "singles only" rate. If only you could find a partner (of the same sex, naturally!) to share a stateroom, you'd be cruisin' in a heartbeat. Well, fret not: *NR* can match you up with another conservative guy or gal as your cabin mate. Don't delay—for more info call Jack Fowler at 212-679-7330.

FREIGHTER CRUISES—WORLDWIDE, deluxe, inexpensive. TravLtips, Box 580-218A7, Flushing, N.Y. 11358. 800-872-8584.

Vacation Rentals

MAUI—IDYLLIC OCEANFRONT condo. One bedroom, fully furnished. $90 daily. 818-796-3451.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAUTIFULLY RESTORED COLONIAL INN located on easily accessible Loyalist Island of Green Turtle Cay, Bahamas. Has attracted celebrity guests of every description, including a former U.S. President, but mostly caters to nice ordinary folks. 60 per cent repeat clientele. $60 double-occupancy. Includes English breakfast, delightful dinner. Information: Melissa Halsted, 17 Timber Ridge Drive, Annandale, N.J. 08801. 908-638-6222. Direct: 242-365-4138.

Health

NOW GET LONGEVITY'S EDGE. Look younger/feel great! For this powerful list of titles send S.A.S.E. to: Health Advantage, P. O. Box 4893-N, New York, N.Y. 10185-4893.

AIDS EPIDEMIC IN TAMPA, FLORIDA! Information: HPAF, P. O. Box 10088, Tampa, Fla. 33679.

Web Sites

THE INTELLIGENT GUIDE TO BROWSING THE INTERNET. http://www.bigeye.com.

Friendship, Etc.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 800-773-3437.

BEAUTIFUL BRITISH LADIES & ELIGIBLE BRITISH GENTLEMEN seek friendship, romance & marriage with Americans! All ages! Free details: English Rose (Dept. NR), Romance House, 20 Albion St., Broadstairs, Kent, CT10 1LU England. Telephone: 011-44-1843-863322 (24 hrs.).

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE ® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

MEET SOUTH AMERICAN LADIES! #1 Service—catalogues, videos, tours. Free fotobrochure! T.L.C., P. O. Box 924994-NR, Houston, Texas 77292-4994. 713-896-9224.

BEAUTIFUL EAST EUROPEAN, RUSSIAN LADIES 18-40 seek marriage. Free photo catalogue! ACWN, P. O. Box 220943, Chantilly, Va. 22202-0943. Internet: www.acw-i.com.

RUSSIAN LADIES, truly beautiful, educated, seek romance! Beautiful videos, exciting Moscow tours. Free photocatalog. Russia 206, P. O. Box 888851, Atlanta, Ga. 30356. 770-458-0909.

LATINAS ON VIDEO EXPRESS. 7516 E. Main Street, Suite #4-201-NR, Mesa, Arizona 85207. 602-982-7065.

ASIAN BEAUTIES! WORLDWIDE! Romance, Lifemates! P.I.C., Box 461873-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. 213-650-1994. www.pacisl.com.

ASIAN WOMEN Desire Marriage! Established 1984! Free Photobrochure! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. 808-325-7707. http://sunshine-girls.com

RUSSIA, EUROPE, USA, CANADA, etc.: Correspond with sincere, professional men and women worldwide, for friendship and more. SCANNA International, P. O. Box 550527-NR, Atlanta, Ga. 30355. 800-677-3170. On Worldwide Web: http://www.scanna.com/

ALOHA! MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE! Thousands of happy marriages since 1974. Complimentary photo magazine: Cherry Blossoms, Box 190-NR, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 619-262-6025 (Ext. 48).

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific, #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

Personal

SINGLE BLACK MALE desires sincere friendship and correspondence with white female. Barry Nicholson (21613-044), P. O. Box 6000, Florence, Colo. 81226.

I AM A SINGLE, WHITE, 43-YEAR-OLD male from the New York area, specifically Staten Island. If you are a lady in her thirties who believes that the timeless virtues are just that, has an interest in politics, a yen for old movies, and has been looking for someone with whom you could share thoughtful conversations and perhaps sow some dreams, which would then yield a rich, delightful harvest, please send letter and photo to NR Box 2377.

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE

The War On Drugs Is Lost ($1.50)
NR 40th Anniversary Issue ($2.95)
The Real Reagan Record ($2.95)
The 100 Best Conservative Movies ($5.50)
Health Care: Second Opinions ($2)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)
Bulk prices available on quantity request.

Send to
NATIONAL REVIEW,
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Discounts: 4 times, $4.00 per word; 6 times, $3.75 per word; 8 or more times, $3.50 per word.

Display Ads: Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $225 per column inch; 4 times, $200 per column inch; 8 times, $185 per column inch; 10 or more times, $175 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional (one-time only charge). When responding to an NR Box number, Address: NR Box ____, c/o Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Letters will be forwarded by 1st class mail.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to *NATIONAL REVIEW*), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330

Deadlines: Every other Tuesday (approx. 16 days before the magazine is printed). Upcoming deadlines: March 4th & 18th; April 1st, 15th & 29th; May 13th & 27th.

Restrictions: *NR* may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. Such rejections are almost always based on our interpretation of common decency and good taste. Partisan political viewpoints expressed in connection with specific goods or services are the sole responsibility of the advertiser, and are not necessarily a reflection of *NR*'s editorial position. We do not accept ads for 900 numbers, and there are no agency commissions for the classifieds.

ISAAC

(Continued from page 45)

expose misuse of federal funds because it would only hurt the program with Congress.

Confident that it will be Congress that blinks, Legal Services programs are prepared for a showdown. As Burt Neuborne sees it: "This is a poker game, and LSC simply got bluffed away from the table very early in the game."

But even if Neuborne turns out to be wrong and a Republican Congress were to summon the political will to terminate federal funding, Legal Services programs will remain a major problem. Each year the amount of no-strings-attached IOLTA and other nonfederal money going to them grows. In 1981 IOLTA was a tiny program in a single state, Florida. In 1996 all fifty states had an IOLTA program, contributing a total of approximately $100 million to Legal Services coffers. State and local tax money for Legal Services has grown at a similar pace, so that by 1995 nonfederal funds were up to $249 million, close to the 1996 federal contribution of $278 million. At this point the nonfederal may actually be greater than the federal contribution. To cite only one example, Republican Governor Christine Todd Whitman last year sharply increased state funds to Legal Services, the better to undercut her own welfare reform initiatives, the chief target of New Jersey's Legal Services attorneys. Unless the states want to tie up all their social service reforms in the courts for decades, it is past time that they take a hard look at how their dollars are being used.

As far as IOLTA is concerned, thus far the only successful challenge has been in Texas. In 1996 a unanimous Fifth Circuit panel rejected the state's claim that it was free to expropriate for its own use interest earned on client trust accounts. The Washington Legal Foundation, which brought the suit, made it clear that the objection was not to the legislature's appropriating tax dollars to provide legal aid to the poor, but to the confiscation of property by the courts and its use to support political litigation with which those whose property was being taken disagreed.

Obfuscated by Legal Services attorneys and their allies, this is and remains the core issue: left-wing lawyers using the poor in pursuing their political agenda. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner

1 N	2 X	3 B	4 Z	5 D	6 L	7 U	8 Y	9 R	10 V	11 C	12 K	■	13 O	14 Z	15 J	16 V	17 M	18 Y	19 H	20 G	21 F
■	22 D	23 S	■	24 Z	25 Q	26 J	27 P	28 H	29 R	30 T	31 S	32 B	■	33 F	34 R	■	35 A	■	36 U	37 V	38 S
39 N	40 T	■	41 J	42 C	■	43 F	44 N	45 B	46 X	47 J	48 L	■	49 E	50 A	51 G	52 B	53 W	54 L	55 P	56 V	57 D
58 X	■	59 I	60 W	61 U	62 N	■	63 G	■	64 V	65 F	66 K	67 B	68 Y	69 J	■	70 T	71 A	72 J	73 Q	■	74 O
75 Z	■	76 G	77 L	78 S	79 J	80 X	■	81 A	82 Q	83 R	84 T	85 Y	86 V	■	87 T	88 U	■	89 D	90 C	91 J	92 M
93 I	94 S	95 L	■	96 I	97 N	98 C	99 F	100 W	101 X	102 Q	103 Y	104 R	105 L	■	106 U	107 Z	108 S	109 V	110 G	111 D	■
112 V	113 F	114 B	115 N	116 A	■	117 L	118 J	119 G	120 C	■	121 U	122 T	123 V	124 Z	125 H	126 W	127 A	128 G	129 J	■	130 B
131 D	132 A	133 C	134 U	135 F	136 S	137 X	138 R	■	139 G	140 A	141 H	142 F	143 E	144 V	■	145 I	146 J	147 D	148 B	■	149 Z
■	150 P	151M	152 B	■	153 J	154 R	155 D	■	156 D	157 P	■	158 G	159 X	160 P	■	161 P	162M	163 X	164 S	165 A	166 O
167 B	168 C	169 D	170 K	■	171 B	172 G	■	173 J	174 S	175 V	176 E	177 Y	178 B	179W	180M	181 Z	■	■	■	■	■

DEFINITIONS

A. Southern literary "fugitives" — 132 127 165 140 50 71 35 81 116

B. Forest squatter — 67 114 52 178 152 3 171 32 130 45 167 / 148

C. Noxious, poisonous — 133 11 168 120 42 90 98

D. Foresee, expect — 147 57 111 22 169 156 89 155 131 5

E. Nixon's cursed (and cussed) legacy to landowners — 143 49 176

F. Publicize extravagantly — 33 99 135 43 21 142 113 65

G. Tardy tremor — 63 172 158 128 139 110 76 51 20 119

H. Western alliance — 28 19 141 125

I. Sod — 145 93 96 59

J. Bisexual, literally — 146 153 91 26 79 15 173 69 41 129 118 / 47 72

K. Majestic shade tree — 170 12 66

L. Odysseus, to a Roman — 77 117 105 6 95 54 48

M. Hangman's byte — 180 162 17 92 151

N. Urges, incites — 44 62 1 97 115 39

O. Sir, to Diego or Juan — 13 74 166

P. Concluding — 160 150 55 27 157 161

Q. Cross one's heart — 82 102 25 73

R. Castle caste — 154 9 34 29 104 83 138

S. Furies — 164 174 78 31 38 136 108 94 23

T. Its own reward — 70 87 122 30 84 40

U. Customhouse exactions — 134 106 121 61 36 88 7

V. Harriet Beecher Stowe villain (2 words) — 64 56 175 123 10 16 37 112 144 86 109

W. Torpid, phlegmatic — 179 126 53 60 100

X. Flourishing — 137 159 2 46 163 101 80 58

Y. White weasel of judicial robes — 103 85 18 8 177 68

Z. Flower of Narcissus's only love — 181 149 75 4 107 24 14 124

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. MRS. ADAMS: *To Mr. Adams in Philly*: "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice, or representation."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

The Endlessness Of Castro

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 14

Those who are surprised by Senator Helms's okay on the idea of CNN-in-Havana will have forgotten that, in July 1995, Helms endorsed the idea of news exchanges with Cuba. But he specified, in his proposed amendment to the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996, that any concession allowing U.S. news services into Cuba would be contingent on Castro's granting unrestricted press movement on the island, agreeing not to ban any reporter dispatched to Cuba, and—the most exacting condition—permitting uninhibited distribution of U.S. magazines and newspapers in Cuba.

What happened on Wednesday was word from the State Department that ten news organizations would be given licenses to open news bureaus in Cuba. What was not sufficiently explored was whether the liberties enumerated by Senator Helms in 1995 are to be exacted.

It is now up to Castro to authorize the ten news organizations to send representatives to Havana. These matters are of course left to diplomatic negotiation. Castro was infinitely compliant when asking the Pope last fall to confirm a visit to Cuba. He will need, in the next period, to decide whether CNN deserves the same modifications in the practices of his closed society.

The evolution of the Castro movement in international circles bears reflection. Western European powers were never as put off by Castro as we were. This had to do with the remoteness of Castro's Communism, and the proximity of their own Communist neighbors. For many Europeans, the depravities of Castro were somewhat time. They lived on the same continent that harbored Gulag. And they knew about the menace of the Soviet Union. Castro, then, was merely one more of those Iron Curtain proconsuls, with the glamor that attached to his spectacular rise from guerrilla to omnipotency, and he was treated accordingly. At one of those encounters Fidel Castro met with King Juan Carlos of Spain. Their public embrace seemed more ardent than anything since Dr. Livingstone met up with Mr. Stanley (as in the gag, "But what is your *full* name, Doctor Presume?" "Doctor Livingstone I. Presume").

The Helms–Burton bill dealt with another obstacle to European resistance to Castro, the prospect of trade. There is nothing done by the United States since Jim Crow that our friends have been more upset by than the bill's provisions holding liable any foreign trader who profits from Cuban trade traceable to the use of resources once the property of American entrepreneurs, but seized by Castro in his confiscations of 1960–62. Castro no doubt calculates that any effort to include Cuba in the public square will stimulate trade. Meanwhile, the United Nations has denounced Helms–Burton, and the World Court is prepared to consider objections to it, but has postponed public deliberations hoping that amendments to the policy will be improvised.

Here, we have one of those inter-body paralyses. The bill penalizing foreign traders with Cuba where U.S. property is concerned was passed by Congress and signed by the President. But the act has not been enforced. The President's transcendent right to weigh foreign-policy measures is invoked, and Mr. Clinton, with the same vacillation he has shown in moving against China in pursuit of human rights, puts off the penalties he himself authorized. But of course the longer the delay in implementing the bill's provisions, the longer the sanctuary for foreign businesses that pursue their economic interests and don't, let's face it, give a fig for human liberties in Cuba, or for forty-year-old rights of American property holders.

The endless Castro story endlessly unfurls. What we cannot live with, politically, is the humiliation we have suffered by Castro's survival. We, the superpower that did in the Soviet Union, couldn't take care of the Lilliputian ninety miles away from Miami. We had very little difficulty in adjusting to the survival of North Vietnam, at whose hands we lost the lives of 55,000 American soldiers. But Hanoi is way out there, and, progressively, our concern for human rights there becomes comparable to the concern in Germany for human rights in Cuba. One of these days, presumably, Castro will die even if we don't kill him. That would pacify the problem of pride.

On the other hand, not inconceivably, some time even before he dies we will call off the whole boycott—on the grounds that that terrible man is a continuing threat to Cubans, but not to the United States. □

"You should talk to your veterinarian about Rogaine."

The Attenuation Of the Strike

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 18

Following such a move as Mr. Clinton took to head off the American Airlines strike there is a blur. Only the salient features cling to the memory. They are that AA pilots, making about $120,000 a year, aren't riding the cusp of public sympathy; the AFL-CIO, according to one unidentified spokesman, doesn't consider the proposed strikers "our guys." And that sixty days from now something or another is supposed to happen.

What?

The sequence is as follows. The parties were not able to reach an agreement, so the National Mediation Board got into the act, in due course coming up with proposals. There was a tentative agreement, but when the pilots were polled, 62 per cent of them voted to reject it. So the President aborted the strike and commissioned a Presidential Emergency Board to file a recommendation at the end of thirty days. The contending parties have the ensuing thirty days to accept or reject. Question: What will be the likeliest difference between the recommendations of the Mediation Board and those of the Emergency Board?

There are offsetting pressures on the parties, not just labor and management—one of them is the flying public. Management benefits from the elimination, however temporary, of the employees' heavy club: the strike. The employees benefit from the mounting pressures that built up in anticipation of Armageddon. And the public has sixty days of peace in the air.

In the context of social policy,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we have the curious phenomenon of a seventy-year-old law coming in to define an "emergency." What is so distinctive about the American Airlines situation? How is it that we have had no such emergency in 31 years, the last time the 1926 Railway Labor Act was invoked?

Sixty days from the President's intervention, if there is no agreement, Congress has the authority to impose one. To have such authority is not to guarantee that it will be used. How will enlightened sentiment have distilled in mid April? It will need, surely, to acknowledge that air travel is a necessary cog in modern industrial life. We can't do without telephones, water, electricity, and heat. And we can't do without transportation, which back in the Twenties was subsumed in the word "Railway."

In the heavy postwar days of industrial strife, when the unions were aggressive often for ideological reasons, the scene was punctuated by Mr. Truman's attempted seizure of the steel industry (the Supreme Court overruled him) and the Taft–Hartley Act, which gives the President the authority to delay a strike for a sixty-day cooling-off period; thirty years later, when the air-traffic controllers struck illegally, they were fired by President Reagan. These were assertions, in various forms, of the public interest. But accepted general formulations haven't yet been made. If a strike by employees of a large airline is to be forbidden, what about a strike by employees of a small airline? If air travel is essential to commercial metabolism, is getting the news also essential? When (twice in the Sixties) all of New York City's newspapers were closed down, was this a deprivation against which there should be federal protection?

The proposed strikers gave us some nice theater. CNN's cameras were on Captain Matthew Field, Strike Chairman: "Ladies and gentlemen, good evening. I hereby order the execution of operation 'Fire at Will' at 00:01 Eastern Standard Time, February 15, 1997, thus shutting down all flight operations at American Airlines until further notice. For confirmation of this order, we'll now run a roll call. Boston, do you copy?"

Followed by voice-overs. "Boston copies. Captain Jeff Margine will comply." And the same from New York, Washington, and Miami. But at just that point CNN breaks in to say, Lay off, gentlemen. You may *not* fire at will. The invasion is postponed for sixty days.

As suggested by the anonymous big-labor spokesman, a strike by airline pilots isn't the stuff of an Upton Sinclair novel exposing the ordeals of mine workers. But, ticking away, is an interval after which Congress is going to have to elaborate a policy on public welfare that suggests, in our progressively interconnected world, that the use of the strike needs to be attenuated with some view to vital public interests. □

Fight, God, Fight

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 25

Judge Roy Moore of Alabama keeps a display of the Ten Commandments in his courtroom and—you guessed it—the American Civil Liberties Union has objected to the judge's taking that liberty. The minor judicial league—in this case, the Alabama Supreme Court—has issued a verdict: the judge can keep the Ten Commandments in the courtroom.

But of course an appeal has been filed, and, who knows, the Supreme Court may soon be deliberating whether the First Amendment to the Constitution, properly interpreted, denies the right of the judge to post the Mosaic code on government property. The contention is enlivened by the intervention of the governor of Alabama. Fob James says he will use force if necessary to keep the display in place. Thirty-five years ago an Alabama governor threatened to use force if necessary to forbid black Americans access to state colleges. Twenty years later the former governor repented this misdirection of political energy, citing the Christian mandate to brotherly concern. Students of progressive linear thought might ponder whether the resolution of Governor James is a sublimation of the instincts, matured, of Governor Wallace.

But the larger battle of the month was fought out in Milwaukee. Heather Knutson, 17, thought to greet Valentine's Day with a novel idea. She proposed to pass around pledge cards. Her fellow students would be invited to commit themselves to sexual chastity until marriage. Miss Knutson explained that she had read accounts of teenage pregnancy caused by promiscuity and thought to encourage public commitments to Say No. The pledge movement began under the rubric, True Love Waits.

Over fifty students had signed the pledge cards when the principal discovered that the pledge movement was tied in to the school's Christian Fellowship Group. This was shocking news. A clear violation of church/state, he ruled, forbidding any continuation of the pledge movement. Commenting on his action, the editorialist of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* wrote under the heading, "Shut Up and Take a Condom." Young Heather was approached by an attorney who agreed to take her case and, lo!, the federal judge ordered the school to cease and desist; and there the matter hangs, pending an appeal by the ACLU types to a higher court.

Now, the reason District Judge Rudolph Randa overturned the Valentine's Day interdict wasn't that he thought the church/state separation fanatics had simply gone too far. No, Miss Knutson's lawyer was quoted as saying, "They gave us the rope to hang themselves." He argued that by forbidding the pledge solicitation the principal was depriving the Say No movement of its First Amendment right to free speech and that the only remedy against irrecoverable loss, given that Valentine's Day would be gone at midnight, February 14, was an order instantly overruling the principal. In other words, the court was able to effect that which was desired without tweaking the toes of the church/state fanatics.

It is instructive to wonder, What is it about the Ten Commandments brought down by Moses, or the sanction against fornication by Christianity, that contaminates an injunction to refrain from premarital sex? Nancy Reagan was famous for coining the commandment, Just Say No. If Miss Knutson had begun her True Love Waits movement citing Nancy Reagan as her sponsor presumably she would not have been molested by the authorities. Suppose—just to suppose—that Nancy Reagan were canonized. Would Heather be prohibited by the principal from advancing a cause initiated by St. Nancy?

Suppose that a new Dead Sea Scroll were to reveal that Moses, toward the end of his life, disowned the Ten Commandments. Would it then be okay to hang them on the wall of an Alabama courthouse?

The idiocies in the scene roil mind and heart. We learn from a biologist in Edinburgh that by clever use of DNA he can reproduce asexually an organism from a single ancestor. Bully for science! We can look forward, a generation from now, to all Marilyn Monroes over there, and all Abraham Lincolns over here, though who knows, there might be a free-market laboratory that will compete with all Adolf Hitlers.

What is the secular defense against such chemical riot? Simultaneously we are saving mankind from any biological use for man, and depriving mankind of eternal counsels. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

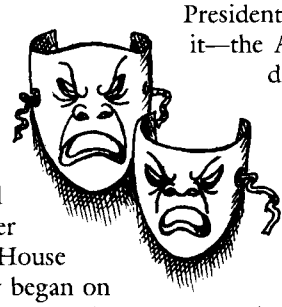
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

MY ideal candidate for President fits the mental picture I get when I hear the words "confirmed bachelor": Lionel Barrymore playing Cardinal Richelieu with gout, his swollen foot propped up on an ottoman as he signs *lettres de cachet*.

My compromise candidate is Sen. Fred Thompson of Tennessee, frequently mentioned as a possible contender for the GOP nomination in 2000. Divorced but not remarried, Thompson is the closest thing to a bachelor we have. If he stays single and runs for President four years hence, it would be a glorious setback for the Noah's Arking of American politics.



The difference between married and unmarried Presidents is aptly illustrated by one who was both. Grover Cleveland entered the White House as a bachelor. His Presidency began on a rarefied plane thanks to his sister, who served as his hostess. Miss Rose Cleveland was pure disembodied intellect. An erudite spinster, she mentally recited Latin declensions to relieve her boredom in receiving lines. Her impenetrable self-containment left our national penchant for mawkish excess with nowhere to go.

Her astringent tenure did not last. When Grover Cleveland married 22-year-old Frances Folsom and the couple produced the first baby born in the White House, a daughter named Ruth, a bottled-up America popped its top. The sugary sentiment and treacly hysteria inspired by "Baby Ruth" are still with us in the candy bar named for her, but the ablative absolute hasn't been the same since.

The last unmarried man to run for President was Adlai Stevenson, who, like Thompson, was divorced. His marital status became a burning issue in the 1952 campaign, and the Republican camp made the most of it. In a newsreel that is seared on my memory, Ike and Mamie Eisenhower came out on the back of a campaign train in the middle of the night in their bathrobes, the calculated imagery of a still-warm connubial bed augmented by his calling her "Darling." At that moment, political marriage turned into *marriedness*.

Marriedness is a form of overkill similar to delivering the State of the Union speech in person instead of sending it up to the Hill to be read by a clerk in accordance with the modest intent of the Constitution. Let one President do something like this and subsequent Presidents are afraid to stop doing it—the American definition of "tradition" in a nutshell. Woodrow Wilson started the personalized State of the Union and the Eisenhowers started marriedness, and now we're stuck with both.

The latest forms of marriedness are familiar to all. Marriedness is the husband being sworn in on a Bible held by his wife instead of the unobtrusive Supreme Court clerk of old. Marriedness is the political couple holding hands in public. Marriedness is a convention podium turned into an overwrought snuggery. Marriedness is the Biblical command to become one flesh carried out under the auspices of the truncated conjunction, resulting in wives named "Tipper 'n' I" and "Bar 'n' I," after Mrs. Nixon, whose name was "Pat 'n' I."

The only ticket out of this molasses pit is a bachelor President. It would do America good to be governed by someone who is not in love or pretending to be. How? Let me count the ways.

It would be an object lesson to the millions who believe they are "not really alive" and "only half a person" if they don't "have somebody."

It would thwart foamy activists who assault the political process with emotional appeals. Married men are easy to get around because they already have been gotten around so many times that caving in is second nature. By contrast, when was the last time you heard a bachelor say, "All I want is a little peace and quiet"?

It would give pause to the gay-marriage advocates who use the Noah's Arking of politics as a wedge. Having a bachelor in the White House would make it much harder for them to go on asking their check-mate question: "If marriage is as wonderful as you say, why don't you want us to have it, too?"

Finally, a bachelor President would represent the ideal of male celibacy. I speak of the form, not the fact. I would expect him to enjoy the consolations of a discreet mistress, but that would not affect his symbolic value as an unmarried leader.

CORNELIA Otis Skinner said, "Woman's virtue is man's greatest invention." True. No one is more icily pragmatic than a girl who has made up her mind to be good. Plunk her down in a society where men insist on marrying virgins and she will say, "Okay, I'll be a virgin." That's that.

Male celibacy has a much more inspiring history as a mature sexual morality practiced for reasons other than mere "reputation." Proof of worthiness for the priest and philosopher, conserver of strength for the warrior and athlete, source of creativity for the sublimating artist, male celibacy has played a central role in civilization's greatest institutions. People know this, if only on an unconscious level, and respond positively. A man without a woman makes them feel secure because they know they have his undivided attention.

The question is, can Fred Thompson be elected?

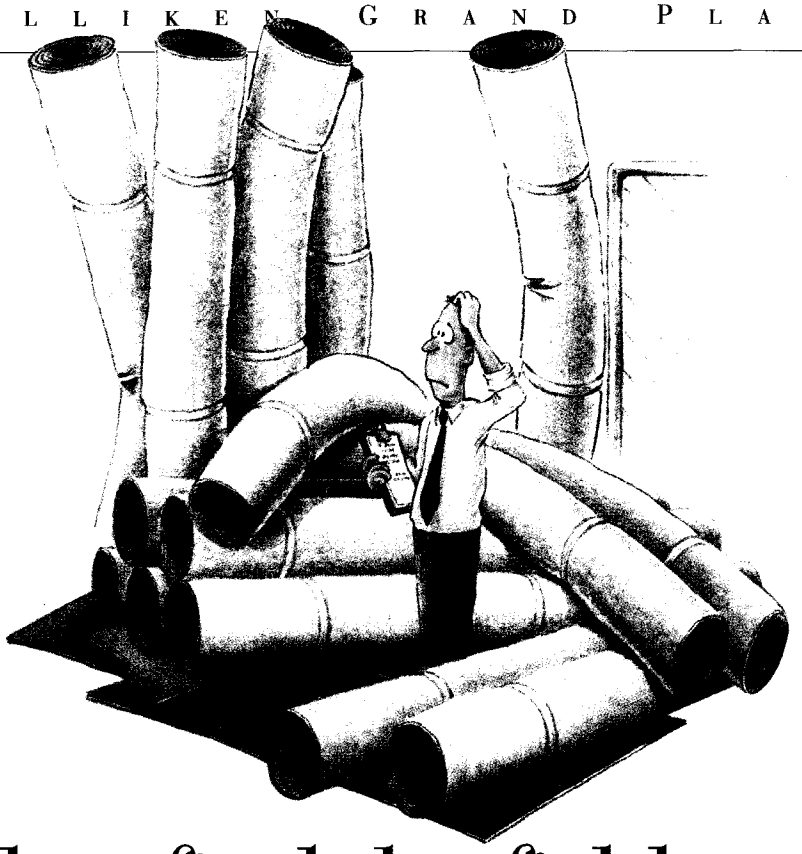
Students of the Fifties claim that Adlai Stevenson's divorce hurt him with voters, but they're only half right. Being divorced hurt him, but being unmarried did him no harm at all among hard-core haters of Eleanor Roosevelt. Made up of most Republicans and just about all Southern Democrats, this was the Shell-shocked Majority that Stevenson could have cracked had he been more politically acceptable. They may not have liked other things about him, but their tirades invariably took an upswing toward the end when they uttered a wistful sentence that began, "At least . . ."

When the question of his marital status comes up, all Fred Thompson need do is look rueful and reply, "I deeply regret that America will have no First Lady if I'm elected," and just let it sink in. □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MILLIKEN GRAND PLAZA



Quick—find the field pattern for the Mediterranean Room.

The clock is ticking. In less than an hour, you've got to locate the right carpet pattern, get some of it over to the right room, and fix a nasty hole the caterers just made. All before tonight's conference begins.

If you have broadloom, you know it's a disaster waiting to happen. The answer? A 36-inch square cushioned carpet called Grand Plaza®.

Grand Plaza is the last step in carpet evolution. It's the best of broadloom and modular—with none of the drawbacks.

Because Grand Plaza is modular, it arrives on pallets. Pallets that easily fit onto forklifts or elevators. Pallets that are a breeze to store and access later.

Maybe that's why Grand Plaza is taking its place among the world's most discriminating hotels, casinos and public spaces.

Hilton Hawaiian Village, Waikiki, Hawaii

GRAND® PLAZA

Protect your carpet investment with MilliCare® Environmental Services™

Natural selection at its best.

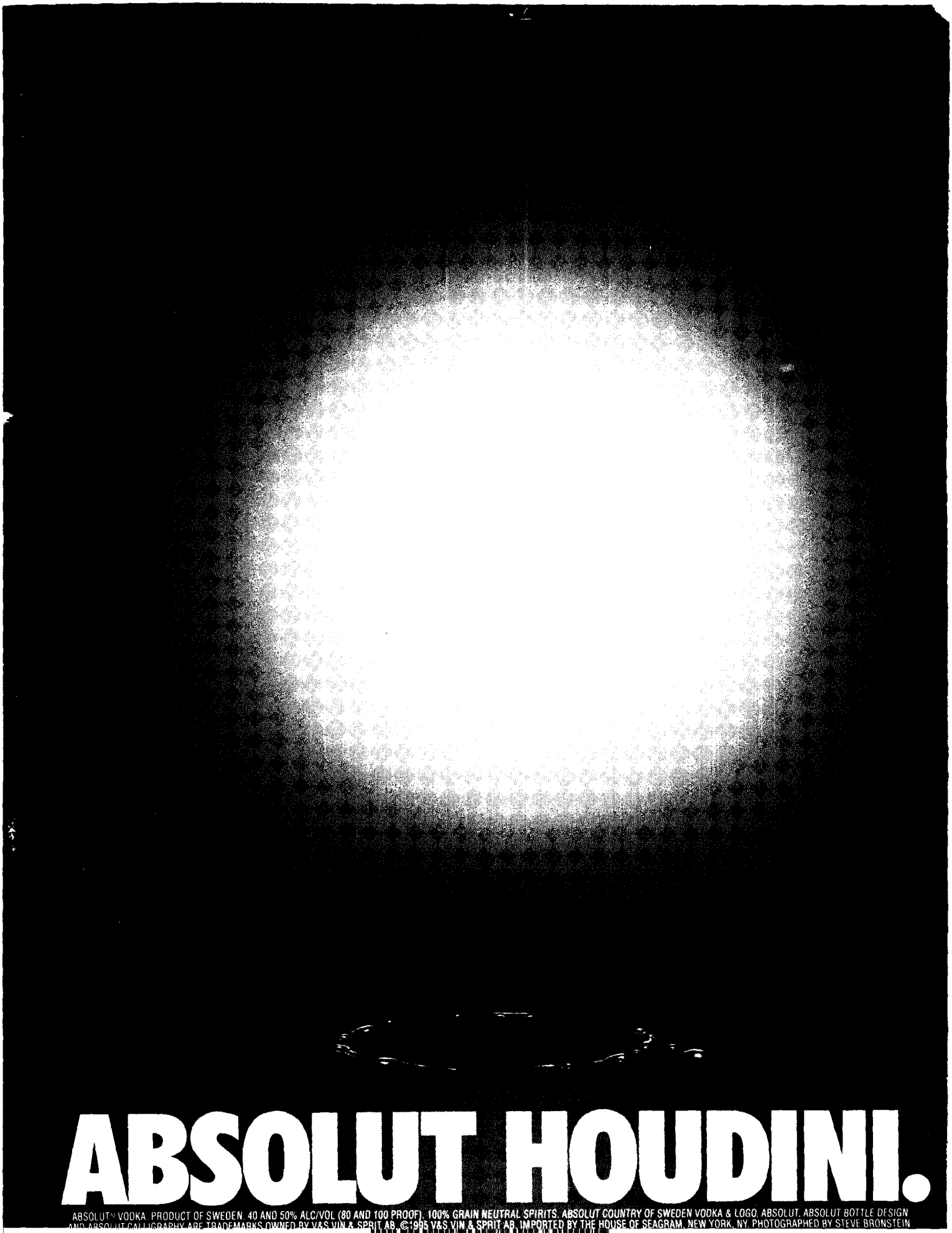
Milliken Carpet

United States Japan United Kingdom

www.millikencarpet.com

If you'd like to know more about Grand Plaza, call 1-800-241-4826, ext. 8716, and we'll send you your free Hospitality Package.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ABSOLUT HOUDINI.
ABSOLUT™ VODKA. PRODUCT OF SWEDEN. 40 AND 50% ALC/VOL (80 AND 100 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN VODKA & LOGO, ABSOLUT, ABSOLUT BOTTLE DESIGN AND ABSOLUT CALLIGRAPHY ARE TRADEMARKS OWNED BY V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. ©1995 V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. IMPORTED BY THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM, NEW YORK, NY. PHOTOGRAPHED BY STEVE BRONSTEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED